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A Replicated Study of Communication Networks, Job Retention and Labour Turnover in Two British Hotels

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Doctor of Philosophy

In memory of my father,

JOHN McEWAN,

1903 - 1976.

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SYNOPSIS

Human communication is examined from several standpoints and an 'Exchange' perspective is preferred because its of greater explanatory power in reconciling Communication and Organisational theory, when the latter is concetualised as Open Systems theory. This synthesis provides a rationale for analysing exchanges between the members of organsiations involved in both Prescribed networks, comprising information, goods and decision transactions; and Emergent networks which also include Friendship transactions. An inductive methodology is used to analyse networks of perceived and received communication links so that dyadic, clique and system measures of Connectedness can be calculated. Replicated communication surveys and labour turnover analyses are described for two hotels, after the various jobs undertaken were grouped under six Job Classifications, according to the individual roles in internal and external communication networks, so that network analysis could be completed at progressively more complex levels of generality and the relationships between Connectedness and Labour Turnover, and the analysis of the hotels under a 'Grid/Group' taxonomy, could be investigated. Five main hypotheses are tested which postulate that Connectedness is related posively to length of employment, higher job status, and negatively to labour turnover.

Subject to the mediating influence of age, pay, and length of full-time education and company training, strong correlations occurred between the Connectedness of isolated, lower-status individuals and Labour Turnover. Members of the higher-status Job Classifications were more common in the longer-employed dominant cliques at the Coastal hotel, where the 'Grid/Group' characteristics of 'Insulated Subordination' were reinforced by kinship ties and friendship links established away from work or in previous employment. The characteristics of 'Collaborative and Competitive Alliances' predominated at the London hotel, where most higher-status members were excluded from dominant cliques which typically consisted of supervisors and long-serving members of the three main ethnic minority groups.

PREFACE

The original version of this dissertation was written between December 1985 and January 1987, submitted in March 1987, and rejected at a 'viva' examination in October 1987, with the recommendation that it should be resubmitted for examination within twelve months. Broadly stated, the grounds for rejection were that the dissertation consisted of five inadequately presented theses, although this conclusion was not discussed during the 'viva' and the examiners decided to present their written comments at a later date through my doctoral supervisor.

A 27-page report, compiled by one of the external examiners, was provided which took on added importance not least because it explicated the 'five theses' critique referred to in the previous paragraph, but also because it turned out to be the only evaluation that was received. A copy of the original dissertation, with additional comments on over 200 pages, was also returned by the same examiner. As a result of these comments and further discussion with the external examiner in January, the following changes have been introduced in this revised version of the thesis:

(i) The overall length has been reduced by almost 40 per cent, although the original format has been retained and the text still appears in Volume 1 with relevant figures, tables, etc., being presented as Appendices in Volume 2.

(ii) A fuller description of the operational activities in both hotels has been included in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 in Part 2 of the text.

(iii) The 'inertia' model of Labour Turnover, developed by the Tavistock Institute as part of the Glacier Metal studies, has been extended to include ongoing evaluations of both Job

Retention and Labour Turnover, which are consistent with the Open Systems perspective.

(iv) Although research carried out at a minimum of two census-points may legitimately be described as a 'longitudinal study', it is also recognised that if the latter research-design requirements are to be fulfilled, then the resulting dynamic model must be conceptualised as a mixed Exponential Distribution. This topic is discussed in more detail in Chapter 10.5 where it is noted that, following McClean (1986), data would probably have to be collected at a minimum of three-monthly intervals over a 3½ year period, to fully satisfy these research requirements. In practice, it was simply impossible to carry out Communication Network audits at this rate in what was always conceived and accepted as a part-time doctoral thesis only; and the title of the revised thesis has therefore been changed from a 'longitudinal' to a 'replicated' study instead.

(v) The statistical analysis of data in Chapter 9 has been simplified and more emphasis has been placed on the heuristic, rather than an algorithmic, interpretation of findings in Chapter 10.

(vi) As part of this heuristic interpretation, the Mars and Nicod 'Grid/Group' taxonomy has been examined in detail in Chapters 9 and 10, as a basis for interpreting the Communication data at the individual, dyadic, clique and system levels, so that comparisons could be made between the two hotels.

(vii) Figures showing the various Communication Networks and related Tables of Connectedness measures were excluded from the original thesis because the A2-size computer printouts were simply too large to insert as Appendices, and these were presented separately. These original printouts are still available for

inspection, but A4-size reductions of these documents have now been included.

(viii) A Glossary of the key terms used in Communication Network Analysis is included under Appendix C in Volume 2.

(ix) In an attempt to clarify material, separate analyses of Perceived and Received Communication links have been excluded and the empirical studies are now based on the evaluation of Dyadic links alone. The Rytina and Morgan (1982) conceptual scheme for calculating probabilities of contact within and between categories (after populations of network data were previously partitioned into agreed social categories, such as cliques), has been omitted from this revised thesis. If anything, this attempt to 'cross-check' on the Connectedness/ Labour Turnover, etc., relationships, using this scheme as a sort of 'triangular testing procedure', failed to achieve this objective and tended to complicate matters unnecessarily.

(x) Perhaps the most difficult decision of all to reach was the one to exclude the account of the work-related Attitude Surveys, carried out in both hotels during 1985, as Job Satisfaction is included in the research model. The reasons for this decision are discussed in detail in Chapter 10.4 but, are related to the argument about 'longitudinal versus replicated' studies discussed in (iv) above; namely, that it was not possible to carry out the replicated Communication Network Audits and the Attitude Surveys simultaneously, so the latter were completed twelve to fifteen months afterwards and, strictly speaking, should not be included in the same research model unless Communication Audits were carried out concurrently. Rather than submit a spurious analysis, it was therefore decided to settle on the side of parsimony by omitting this investigation of work-related Attitudes, although these surveys can always be discussed separately, if necessary.

It should be mentioned at this juncture that, prior to the meeting with the external examiner and my doctoral supervisor in January, referred to earlier, a formal request was made that an external examiner with expertise in either Organisational Communication or Communication Network Analysis should be appointed, to counterbalance the Organisational theory standpoint taken by the examiner who wrote the critique of the original dissertation, but this was turned down by the School of Management in February, 1988.

Evaluation by such an expert was requested after the suggestion was made that three of the five theses should be excluded from the revised version of the dissertation, which had been submitted as a coherent attempt to integrate Communication theory with Organisational Communication theory, so that the latter could be reconciled progressively at the individual, dyadic, clique and system levels, with previously conflicting perspectives in Organisational Behaviour theory. As noted already, this reconciliation provided the theoretical basis for empirical research into the relationships between measures of Communication activity and Labour Turnover in the two focal hotels.

Fortunately, the need for this second opinion became superfluous with the appearance in the United States of the 'Handbook of Organisational Communication', eidted by Jablin, F.M., Putnam, L.L., Roberts, K.H. and Porter L.W., Sage Publications, in November, 1987, which my doctoral supervisor brought to attention in March, and a copy of which was acquired by Portsmouth Polytechnic Library in May, 1988.

Suffice it to say, that the original dissertation anticipated material which has since been published in the Handbook, as shown below, most of which would have had to be excluded had the suggested amendments been made. Relevant material is discussed under summaries of the 'five theses' which appear in the critique of the original thesis.

Thesis 1: 'Propositions taken from Contingency Theory can enrich the Exchange Theory of Communication'.

The analysis of earlier, unsuccessful attempts to reconcile Communication theory and Organsiational Behaviour theory, which was not introduced until Chapters 2 and 3 in the original thesis, is also discussed by Euske and Roberts in Chapter 2 of the Handbook. The failure of previous reviews (eg. Porter and Roberts, 1974 and 1976) to include an adequate explication of Open Systems theory, which was raised in the thesis, has since been addressed by the authors. Similarly, the glaring omission of any reference to Burns and Stalker's ideal-typical forms of 'mechanistic-organic' structures, which was a corner-stone in the original thesis, has also been corrected. Indeed, so important has Burns and Stalker's analysis become to Organisational Communication theory, that a separate discussion of their contribution by Karl Weick appears in Chapter 4 of the Handbook. Furthermore, the related concepts of Emergent Communication Networks and Prescribed Communication Networks, which were explicated in Chapter 3 of the dissertation, are discussed separately by Monge and Eisenberg in Chapter 10 and by Jablin in Chapter 12 of the Handbook. It should also be mentioned that, in common with Tichy and Fombrun, Monge and Eisenberg omit to explain how an Emergent Network might be operationalised for the purpose of empirical research, although this task was undertaken in the original thesis.

Thesis 2: 'The best features of several previous communication models are combined in a new model developed by the author'.

This subject was raised at the beginning of Chapter 1, simply because the questions Organisational Communication theorists ask are direct consequences of the perspectives they assume concerning the general process of human communication. Over 200 definitions of Communication are available and it is conventional practice in Organisational Communication research to start by declaring one's standpoint. Thus, although Krone, Jablin and Putnam identify "four fairly comprehensive yet parsimonious perspectives" in Chapter One of the Handbook, in fact

this claim is overstated in comparison with the two-fold classification of human communication by Dance and the more comprehensive three-fold classification by Harre and Lamb, both of which were discussed in the original thesis. Furthermore, the close theoretical similarities between 'Informational' and 'Psychological' models of human communication escape the attention of Krone et al and their failure to discuss the Interactional approach, developed separately by Goffman and Argyle, under the 'interpretative-symbolic' perspective is a serious omission. Fortunately, the Exchange approach described in the thesis is incorporated under the 'systems-interactive' perspective, but they make no attempt to integrate the four perspectives into a comprehensive approach, although they accept that "communication encompasses all of the four perspectives" and that "From the researcher's view...the combinations of approaches that advance our knowledge of communication in organizations would be...most useful" (Krone et al p.38). As was argued in the original thesis, this combination of approaches can best be achieved through the analysis of the dyad, triad, clique, etc. but another disappointing omission in the Handbook, despite brief references to the contributions of Moreno and Homans, is any discussion of the classical analysis of these core concepts of Communication by Georg Simmel.

Thesis 4: 'Communication connectedness can be thought of as a mediating variable between characteristics of individuals (age, sex, ethnicity, education, etc.) and their attitudes and behaviour towards the employing organisations (eg. readiness to stay or leave)".

The model that was developed in Chapter 3 for studying the Connectedness of individuals in Communication Networks as an antecedent of Turnover, in terms of an Open Systems perspective, anticipates a comparable analysis of Organizational Entry, Assimilation and Exit which is discussed at length by Jablin in Chapter 19 of the Handbook; and the earlier studies by Bluedorn (1978), Mobley et al (1979), Mowday et al (1982), Muchinsky and Tuttle (1979) and Price (1977), which were discussed at length in the original dissertation, are also critically

reviewed by Jablin in his analysis of the relationship between Communication, Assimilation and Labour Turnover.

The inclusion of the various changes mentioned above clearly shows, if proof were needed, that the positive aspects of the critique of the original dissertation have been taken into consideration. Nevertheless, the passage of time has also shown that some of its academic originality was either undervalued or not recognised, probably because these elements in the dissertation were evaluated primarily from the standpoint of Organisational Behaviour, and the attempt to approach this discipline, inductively, from the individual and dyadic levels via Communication Network Analysis and Open Systems theory, was misconstrued; and was interpreted as singular, confused and fragmented analysis; instead of being seen as part of an unfolding continent of academic enquiry, some of whose features have been charted in over 3,500 research citations in the Handbook of Organizational Communication. The problems arising with these theoretical elements are not new and are addressed by Krone, Jablin and Putnam as follows:

> "One source of the problem rests in the necessity of those who build theories to be versed in BOTH organization theory and communication theory. Unfortunately, few of us can claim such expertise. At best, most scholars are familiar with a select group of organization and comunication theories". (Part 1: Theoretical Issues, page 11).

T McEwan

September, 1988.

PART ONE: THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE FIELD STUDY

The disciplines of Organisational Communication and Organisational Behaviour remain incompatible because knowledge in one discipline is often inaccessible to scholars in the other, mainly due to the pervasive influence of 'linear' models of human communication. These emphasise intentional, goal-directed perspectives by focusing on the ego-networks of the single actor, at the expense of alternative approaches involving multiple actors in organisations. In Chapter One, the reconciliation of both traditions is introduced by evaluating four main approaches to human communication; namely, the Informational, including mechanistic, linear and psychological models; the Interactional, which adopts a social action standpoint; the Relational, based on mutual involvement in discourse and transactions; and finally, an Exchange perspective, which synthesises earlier models as 'power-dependence' and affective relationships between a minimum of two persons. In Chapter Two, the latter perspective is developed through Open Systems theory to provide an inductive rationale, connecting micro- and macro-level concepts, for empirical research into organisations as communication network structures; and a typology is introduced which groups the various carried out tasks in hotels under six job classifications.

In Chapter Three, the participation of members and the process of labour turnover are analysed jointly by adopting the Tavistock Institute Systems approach, which identifies a dynamic relationship between turnover, job retention and changes in an organisation's structure; and an original model is provided for analysing these processes from an individual, categorical or holistic standpoint. Finally, in Chapter Four a Research Methodology is explicated which responds to criticism of previous communication research by formulating five hypotheses, relating Connectedness, status, job retention and labour turnover, which are tested by collecting communication, turnover and ancilliary data from the employees in two British hotels in replicated field studies.

CHAPTER I : COMMUNICATION THEORY AND INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS

"How can we know the dancer from the dance?"

W.B. Yeats (Note 1)

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to make a contribution to the developing field of Organisational Communication, using Communication Network Analysis, which is a method of studying the social behaviour of people who participate in collectivities, by analysing relational data on their communication exchanges from more than one perspective. Firstly, Communication Network Analysis may be used to study social interaction in terms of how members carry out their specified roles in organisations. These formal transactions may include the exchange of information, goods and services, as well as involvement in decision-making processes.

There is another perspective which, ever since the findings of the Hawthorne Studies (1924-32) were published, has criticised this type of analysis for not basing studies of social behaviour in work situations on the premise that interaction which occurs between members cannot be prescribed or controlled by managers or supervisors. To obtain a more accurate and comprehensive description of social behaviour in an organisation, therefore, it is argued that Communication Network Analysis should be extended to investigate the informal links of friendship and affect which either reinforce or exist independently of the formal ties between the members.

It will be noted from the field study which is described in Chapter 4 that Communication Network Analysis is used to investigate both the formal and informal types of communication exchange; and the practical application of these analyses is to investigate whether patterns of communication behaviour are related to Job Retention or Labour Turnover of the members of different organisations. Before this study is described, however, particular attention will be focused on explicating the concept of Communication within the context of a

review of the Organisational and Communication Network Analysis Communication literature. This is a conventional approach to the subject, adopted in the communication research carried out by Nan Lin (1966), Thayer (1967), Porter and Roberts (1974), Penman (1980), Shimanoff (1980) and Rogers and Kincaid (1981). The reason why is not hard to understand for, Communication is such an ubiquitous concept that considerable disagreement exists about how, or even whether, it can be defined. Fortunately, although Dance (1967) collected nearly 200 different definitions, most writers would now concede that it makes more sense to classify these definitions ostensively, by pointing to examples of how the word is being used, ie. as 'transactions' involving the exchange of information, goods, decisions, friendship and affect.

Thus, the Oxford English Dictionary defines 'Communication' as the "act of imparting, or conveying information or evoking understanding", yet adds that the word has been used in twelve different ways since it first entered the language in 1392. Examination of these uses suggests that they may be classified as either abstract or more concrete forms of application. These latter uses of the word include "a piece of information", "a means of access", "a line of connexion", "common participation", "personal/sexual intercourse", "the act of recognising a quality shared in common", "the Christian sacrament of Holy Communion", "a conference of the Freemasonry fraternity", "Rhetoric", and as "a combination", in words such as 'communication-cord', or a 'communication-valve'. The abstract meanings of communication include the "imparting", "conversing", "exchanging", or "interchanging" of information.

Apart from this wide range of uses there are additional reasons why communication needs to be analysed carefully, as follows:-
firstly, there are widespread misunderstandings about the concept in the wider field of Organisational Behaviour theory which need to be clarified. Secondly, by explicating the concept of Communication, it should be possible to explain the relationships between Organisational Communication and Organisational Behaviour, in

terms of an Open Systems perspective. Finally, in attempting to explain the behaviour of people in organisations using Communication Network Analysis, there are reification and teleological reasons discussed below, why analysis should be based on an inductive approach that focuses on individual participants and their relationships with each other.

This commitment to an inductive approach towards field research is based on a broad acceptance of the epistemology underpinning social science research which was first stated by Bertrand Russell (1919) and may be summarised as follows: The supreme maxim of all scientific philosophy, when applied to research, is that wherever possible, logical constructions are to be substituted for inferred entities since "you diminish the risk of error with every diminution of entities and premises". In short, one has to search for "the bare minimum out of which a system can be constructed....a minimum vocabulary". Applying this analysis to the world around us, Russell adds that, although facts can be particular or universal, it is possible to regard the world as composed of particular facts because that view would itself involve the 'general' fact that atomic facts are all the facts there are. And once this general fact is admitted, there are no good grounds for not admitting others. Moreover, there are not true facts and false facts as only propositions can be true or false since "if you were making an inventory of the world, propositions would not come into it. Facts would, beliefs, wishes, wills would, but propositions would not".

Propositions fall into two classes: atomic and molecular. All molecular propositions can be expressed as truth functions of atomic propositions; that is to say, their truth or falsity depends on the latter. The truth of an atomic proposition can be decided only by passing beyond the proposition to the facts which it depicts. Thus to take the simplest case, the molecular proposition P and Q is true if the atomic propositions P, Q are both true and it is false if

either of them is false, but the truth of P is independent of the truth of any other proposition.

This analysis has direct relevance to the field of human communication whenever phenomena are studied from the standpoint of the different participants. The simplest example would occur if two people were believed to be engaged in a communication exchange. Subsequent enquiry might reveal that these persons either confirmed, or denied, that any communication exchange had actually taken place. Thus, the atomic propositions P or Q would be true if both persons confirmed independently that an 'exchange' had occurred and either proposition would be false if these separate forms of confirmation were withheld. If both persons actually confirmed that the 'exchange' had happened, then the molecular proposition, P and Q, which is intended to describe this communication exchange, or dyad, would also be true, but it would be false if either of the atomic propositions is false. The truth of either atomic proposition would be independent of the truth of any other proposition. That is to say, if person 'X' asserted that communication had occurred with person 'Y', who was unable to confirm that the exchange had taken place, then the perception of 'X' could be accepted as authentic, even though the other propositions, one atomic: the other molecular, would have to be rejected. The grounds for adopting this position were formally stated as follows, under what Ryle (1947) refers to as the 'Privileged Access' Fallacy:

> "One person has no direct access of any sort to the events of the inner life of another. He cannot do better than make problematic inferences from the observed behaviour of the other person's body to the states of mind which, by analogy from his own conduct, he supposes to be signalized by that behaviour. Direct access to the workings of a mind is the privilege of that mind itself; in default of such privileged access, the workings of one mind are inevitably occult to everyone else. For the supposed arguments from bodily movements similar to their own to mental workings similar to their own would lack any possibility of observational corroboration".

It will be argued later in this chapter that previous communication studies have often concentrated solely on the perceived communication links of respondents. However, this approach raises serious difficulties whenever a focal link is not confirmed by the intended 'receiver' and it is usual for questionable constructs, such as 'one-way' and 'two-way' communication, to be introduced to explicate the different forms of social behaviour which have been recorded. Some writers, including Rogers and Kincaid (ibid), regard it as valid to infer the existence of molecular propositions from the atomic propositions which are derived, in the case of dyadic links, from either individual's perception that communication has occurred. The problem with this form of reasoning is that atomic propositions become entangled with molecular propositions and the principle of induction becomes violated whenever a 'two-way' communication link, inferred from the evidence of one respondent, is contradicted by that of the other participant. In short, if inferred entities are preferred to either logical constructs, or to empirical evidence obtained from the Network Analysis, then the risk of error is not diminished, nor can a sufficient number of incontrovertible cases of association always be identified, which would otherwise provide reasonable grounds for proceeding from confirmed uniformities to valid generalisations about social behaviour within a collectivity.

As will be shown later, the field study data in this thesis consists of both the perceived and received communication links of each respondent, yet the Communication Network Analysis will be confined solely to the dyadic exchanges between these participants, because it is considered essential to include some form of verification of what is being offered as an empirical research study. That is to say, in order to provide a valid basis for further generalisations about the social behaviour of the members of the focal organisations, each molecular proposition will refer to dyadic exchanges that can be distinguished from the underlying atomic propositions by the confirmation of both, rather than by either, of the participants.

1.1. TRADITIONAL FRAMEWORKS

This thesis rests on the proposition that human communication always occurs between two or more people who are mutually involved in a relationship that is normally characterised by transactions and discourse, although this may also include silence. This conception of communication is not original and was previously advanced by Birdwhistell (1959), Watzlawick et al (1967), Hawes (1973), Bateson (1973), Fisher (1978) and Penman (1980). Nevertheless, there are other writers mentioned below who would regard this approach as unacceptable because, in attempting to reconcile two conflicting perspectives, namely, 'Rhetoric' and 'Dialectic', it is more critical of one perspective than of the other.

The study of human communication, as Rhetoric, and the study of interpersonal relationships, as Dialectic, have been separated for nearly 2,400 years in two broad traditions that can be traced back to Classical Greece and the writings of Aristotle (384-322 BC) and Plato (427-328 BC). According to Clarke (1984), Aristotle was probably the first to define communication as part of the formal study of Rhetoric, which was to be used as a means of achieving "persuasion". Burnet (1892) credits Empedokles as being the inventor of Rhetoric, but Roberts (1966) notes that Aristotle's particular contribution was to modify these earlier rules by identifying three essential elements in human communication as follows:

(i) the speaker, (ii) the audience, (iii) the speech.

The Aristotelian perspective has survived to the present day in what Harré and Lamb (1983) call Informational, and Dance (1978), Mentation, models of communication, although most contemporary models differ from Aristotle's by reversing the position of 'the audience' and 'the speech', without providing any explanation for this change. The historical counterpart to Rhetoric, namely Dialectic, is derived from an earlier tradition but opinion is divided about whether Zeno of Elea, or Plato, was the inventor of the method. Both writers

regarded communication as a dynamic process that provided people with skills in enquiry but, according to Burnet (op.cit.), we can no longer be certain which of the two was first to develop the technique of refutation in debate as a method of exploring and developing relationships. What is beyond dispute, however, is that Plato was the outstanding exponent of the Dialectic method in Classical Greece and examples of his genius survive in 25 dialogues, where ethical issues, such as justice, piety, or the ideal form of government, are analysed by Socrates and at least one other protagonist.

The Platonic perspective has also survived to the present day in what Harré and Lamb (op.cit.) refer to as the Relational approach to human communication but, as Minuchin (1974) notes, the relationship expressed in the exchanges between participants is "of a different order of reality" than the members who are linked by the relationship. The source of the distinction being made here is to be found in Whitehead and Russell's Theory of Logical Types, which asserts that, in terms of formal logic, no class can be a member of itself. Thus, to refer to a communication exchange and the participants as if they possessed logical equivalence is to confuse atomic and molecular propositions and to commit what Ryle (1947) refers to as "a category mistake". In short, a different order of abstraction or typing is required which, according to Wilden (1972), has important implications for the way that we construe reality and, more particularly, for the way in which communication processes should be analysed.

1.2. THE SOCIAL SCIENCE PERSPECTIVE

Interest by social scientists in the study of human communication is surprisingly recent and there are no references in the literature prior to the Second World War. Most of the theories developed between 1945-60 are derived from the simple model provided by Aristotle in 'Rhetorica', whereas those published between 1960-80 generally follow the Relational or Exchange perspective of Platonic Dialectic. There is no broad agreement however, about whether

communication should be studied under two, or more, perspectives. Dance (ibid), for example, classifies nearly two hundred different definitions as either 'Mentation' or 'Interaction' models, whereas Harré and Lamb (ibid) identify three broad approaches which are considered below; namely, the Informational, the Interactional and the Relational for, unlike Dance, they acknowledge Goffman's (1961) use of the term 'Interactional', to define communication, as distinct from the Relational approach which was later developed by the 'Palo Alto' group.

1.3. INFORMATIONAL MODELS OF COMMUNICATION

According to Harré and Lamb, Informational models of communication deal with "the transmission of messages, mainly factual ones, between interacting parties (e.g. societies, organisations, individuals, etc.) that are capable of sending or receiving information through some common system of signals or symbols". Burke (1945) was the first social scientist to adopt an Informational approach when he analysed communication in terms of five interrelated components, as follows:

(i)	The Act	(ie. what occurs),
(ii)	The Scene	(ie. the background),
(iii)	The Agent	(ie. the communicator),
(iv)	The Agency	(ie. the means),
(v)	The Purpose	(ie. the intention, or motive).

Burke's main interest was in the study of Motivation but his ideas in this field were overshadowed by those of Abraham Maslow (1943) and his contribution to communication theory was superseded by the Informational models put forward by Shannon (1948) and Shannon and Weaver (1949), which are presented as Figure 1.1. Both of the latter models were derived from research carried out in the emerging field of electronic technology in the American Telecommunications industry; and it should be noted that most social scientists tended to accept without question, their 'mechanical' model as an analogue of human communication, for a period of nearly twenty years.

Rogers and Kincaid (1982) have described perspectives derived directly from Shannon and Weaver as "Linear models of communication" and the most widely known versions were presented by Lasswell (1948), Osgood et al (1957), Westley and MacLean (1957) and David Berlo (1960). Two of these models are represented in Figure 1.2. According to Rogers and Kincaid (ibid), linear models are essentially "left-to-right, one-way" models of communication, although in the case of David Berlo, they accept that a serious attempt was made to describe communication as an on-going process by introducing the concept of "feedback". Circular models are also essentially linear in that the communication act is also depicted as moving from a source to a receiver.

Consideration of the above models reveals three theoretical similarities that are common to Informational approaches, including "linear", or "circular", models:

(i) an assumption that meaning or information is encapsulated in words, gestures, appearances, or objects and that these have to be decoded so that their content can be revealed,

(ii) an assumption that people's bodies, especially their faces, eyes and hands, constitute a screen on which various thoughts, emotions and attitudes are displayed,

(iii) an Aristotelian and Newtonian view of the world as a mental space in which discrete entities (organisms, objects, etc.), occasionally act (exert some influence) on one another.

These arguments are advanced by Harré and Lamb (op.cit.) who, together with Rogers and Kincaid, note that "such mutual influences are often conceptualised in terms of a linear sequence of events occurring within a dyadic framework", of the type: 'A informs B'.

It was mentioned above that Informational approach includes all "linear" or "circular", models of human communication, which should also be regarded as mechanistic models for the following reasons:

The main components of the Shannon and Weaver models were adopted by Lasswell (1948), Harlow and Compton (1967), Leyton (1968), Breth (1969), Deverell (1974), Shrope (1974), Bergen (1976), Stanton (1982), and Evans (1984) as typifying human information transmission. Firstly, the concept of a 'channel' was borrowed after it had been introduced by Shannon in response to the rapid spread of new technological forms of mass media. Next, the "speaker" in Aristotle's analysis was transformed into the "source", then the "speech" became the "message", and "the audience" became either "the destination" or "the receiver", until human communication was depersonalised and reduced to "messages encoded by sources", which were later "decoded by receivers". The valid engineering concept of "noise", which defines how a message may be distorted by interference, was transformed into different categories of "barriers to communication". In an effort to accommodate the changing process of communication, several of the 'linear' models were presented in a 'circular' format, but with the complication that "the source" is simultaneously depicted as "a receiver" at the same time as "the receiver" is shown as "a source", Clarke (ibid). No explanation is given to support this form of circular argument. Such convolutions became necessary, however, once it became accepted that the Cybernetic concept of 'Feedback' had to be incorporated into the models of communication. Of the various attempts to resolve this difficulty, the model advanced by David Berlo (Figure 1.2), described below, has been the most influential for the past 15-20 years.

1.3.1. The Berlo S.M.C.R. Model of Human Communication

The Source-Message-Channel-Receiver, or S.M.C.R. model, is an Informational approach to human communication that depends on a separation between the source and the receiver which "are corresponding systems that exist in similar states", so that "an analysis of behaviour .... applies equally to communication sources and receivers". Moreover, Berlo asks us to accept that the model of communication "is itself similar or equivalent to the model of learning" and "the six ingredients that are involved in learning have

their analogues in the ingredients that are involved in communication".

Ingredients in Learning	Ingredients in Communication
1. Organism	1. Channel
2. Stimulus	2. Message
3. Perception	3. Decoder
4. Interpretation of Stimulus	4. Receiver-Source
5. Overt Response to Stimulus	5. Encoder
6. Consequent of the Response	6. Feedback

The cybernetic term "Feedback" was introduced by Berlo and refers to

> "when an individual communicates with himself, the messages he encodes are fed back into his system by his decoder .... Engineers refer to the re-entrance of the sound from the speaker to the microphone as feedback, we mean the same thing by the term. If a communication source decodes a message that he encodes, if the message is put back into his system, we have feedback".

Despite previously stating they are 'the same thing', Berlo immediately admits to

> "one difference between the engineer's meaning and the communication man's meaning for feedback. In engineering, feedback often is a 'bad' word - engineers try to avoid feedback. In human communication, feedback is a very 'good' word".

1.3.2. The Dance Helical Spiral Model of Communication

A consequence of the widespread popularity of the Berlo S-M-C-R model of human communication is that it distracted attention from an alternative model, published by F.E.X. Dance (1967), which later became known as the Helical Spiral model. According to Adair (1973), this geometric analogue of human communication was inspired by the double helix D-N-A molecule in Genetic Biology and its shape has been likened to a mattress spring, as can be seen from Figure 1.3. Dance argues that the model best expresses the view that communication, while moving forward, at the same time moves back on itself at a different level. It follows that the process is constantly moving away from its original position at the lower level of the spiral, but is always being affected to some extent by its past behaviour.

In addition to Adair, Penman (ibid) notes enthusiastically that the model captures

> "the main features of the communication process, that is feedback loops, moving steady state positions and self regulation by each of the participants and, more importantly, no message can be said to directly or indirectly cause the next or be caused by the prior message".

McQuail (1975) takes an equally favourable view and comments that "the image is certainly a useful one, and to have it in mind acts as a corrective to static or equilibrium models which suggest a return, perhaps after feedback, to the starting position". Bateson's (1973) criticism about the impact on message consequences or effects is relevant, however, as is his argument that a "cybernetic explanation which is always negative", is required in contrast to the "positive perspective" of Dance and other Informational models of human communication, and this will be discussed in more detail later.

1.3.3. General Criticism of the Informational Models of Human Communication

The Berlo and related models are dependent on an inaccurate epistemological assumption about the nature of information. Linear models are inadequate because they are based on the assumption that information is projected from a source to a receiver, like a pass to another player in football, or it is encapsulated separately from the participants, like an arrow released from a bow at a target, or the contents of a hypodermic syringe. Similarly, Circular or equilibrium models of human communication are inadequate because they imply that information is carried between two people, like 'buckets' of water that are collected and discharged at two different levels on a water-wheel.

Kincaid (1979) also argues that Informational models display a source bias based on dependency, rather than focusing on the relationship of those who communicate and their fundamental interdependency. They also tend to focus on the objects of communication as simple, isolated

physical objects, at the expense of the context in which they exist; focus on the messages, per se, at the expense of silence, and the punctuation and timing of messages; and consider the primary function of communication to be persuasion, rather than mutual understanding, consensus and collective action; and tend to concentrate on the psychological effects of communication on separate individuals rather than on the social effects and the relationships among individuals within networks.

Furthermore, Linear and circular models do not explain communication as an on-going concatenous phenomena, but attempt to explain one 'episode' only (and then, presumably have to be 'rewound', like clockwork, to explain the next 'episode', etc.). Thus the models that incorporate "feedback" use the concept in an opposite way to that intended in engineering and cybernetics. In its engineering or cybernetic uses, negative feedback refers to a 'loss' of output that is recorded when an actual or a repeated performance is compared with the initial or a desired performance, whereas Berlo and others introduce the concept of positive feedback without explanation as a 'gain' which is necessary to ensure that communication is completed successfully.

It should be noted that Informational approaches, such as the Berlo 'S-M-C-R' and the Dance Helical Spiral models, provide valid explanations of human communication from the standpoint of a focal individual, who is assumed to transmit information to other participants, and empirical data on an individual's perceived links could be recorded so that atomic propositions about the flows of information within a collectivity can be formulated. That said, it should not be overlooked that, by considering the focal individual as a 'source', these models generally fail to consider what is happening from the standpoint of the 'receiver'. Either that, or else 'feedback' it is inferred, rather than verified by comparing the 'perceived' and the 'received' links of each participant. To focus on the transaction, however, would require a different analysis of communication than has so far been attempted.

David Berlo has since accepted this criticism of his S-M-C-R model by admitting that "our view of research and our view of communication have been contradictory" and "it could be argued that S-M-C-R was not intended as a model of communication" and "our interests in communication are changing, mainly from directional persuasion, where linear models may have been more satisfactory, to communication as exchange". Berlo attributes his error to "the limited fertility of the research tradition in which he was trained" which, according to Smith (1972) was "mainly a psychological approach to experimental research on one-way communication".

Moving on, Harré and Secord (1972) maintain that we are now in a position where "the conventional mechanistic theories and methodologies are inappropriate for the study of relationships as reflected in the communication process". The issue here is more than just a matter of changing the focus from the individual to the relationship, or from the static to the dynamic: indeed, a fundamental epistemological and theoretical reappraisal is essential. Furthermore, they insist that the problem is derived from the classic Humean conception of a "cause", which requires that the mode of connection between "cause" and "effect" is ignored because it is not part of empirical science. Yet if we accept Hume's analysis and ignore the connection between "cause" and "effect", how are we ever to explain the communication process?
Nobody would deny that communication takes place and, in its simplest form, is a mutual business with each person "being done to" and "doing" at the same time. Considered mechanistically each person is both 'cause' and 'effect' simultaneously. But it does not clarify matters to introduce the concept of "feedback" incorrectly, or to argue, that, for communication to occur there must of necessity be a response. Penman (ibid) has shown that this form of reasoning leads to a tautology. To argue that there must always be a response begs the further question "Who from"? To which the answer is always "A receiver". Yet if there is a 'receiver' then there is always a 'response', if only one of silence for, as Weiner (op.cit.) and Argyle (1969) have demonstrated, communication always consists of a non-

verbal element as well as human speech.

As for the Helical Spiral model, Dance seems to be aware of the difficulty, although the point appears to have escaped the notice of Adair (ibid), Penman (ibid) and McQuail (ibid), who all interpret it as an Interactional or Relational model. Not so Dance, who argues:

> "To compound our helical model we must remember that in the process of communicative self-emergence and self-identification the interaction with perceived others is essential. As a result, we have two or more helixes interacting and intertwined", (p.107).

This proposal will be explored in more detail later in the concluding section of this chapter.

1.4. THE INTERACTIONAL THEORY OF HUMAN COMMUNICATION

Erving Goffman, (1961/71) investigated socially organised conditions for the circulation of information between the members of a specified community, or a more loosely structured face-to-face gathering. This has led some writers, notably Harre and Lamb (ibid), to classify Goffman's work as a separate Informational approach although he analyses communication as being both Informational and Interactional in character; and as consisting of the communication arrangements between individuals (ie. direct or indirect, etc.); the communication conduct adopted by the members (ie. strategies); the communication constraints (ie. technical, intellectual, etc.); and the interpretational frames (how people perceive and account for their conduct).

The elements of arrangements and conduct are analysed by Goffman in terms of two radically different kinds of Sign Activity (Note 2) displayed by individuals; namely, the expression that any one individual gives, which involves the use of verbal symbols or their substitutes, to convey the information that the individual and the others are known to attach to these symbols.

> "This is communication in the traditional or narrow sense. The second involves a wide range of action that others can treat as symptomatic of the actor, the expectation being that the action

was performed for reasons other than the information conveyed in this way. Taking communication in both its narrow and broad senses, one finds that when an individual is in the presence of others, his activity will have a promisory character. The others are likely to find that they must accept the individual on faith, offering him a just return while he is present before them in exchange for something whose value will not be established until after he has left their presence".

This encounter is defined as "all the interaction which occurs throughout any one occasion when a given set of individuals are in another's continuous presence". It is achieved by the individual realising his identity through a 'performance', and includes all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers; and may involve possible power-dependence relations, as well as affective relations, which could result in conflict or compliance between the participants. Furthermore, he accepts that individuals structure their behaviour in terms of their own models of the world, which lead to their own social realities and values, and implies that it is relatively easier, or certainly more possible, to influence or to understand others, if the intended action is in a direction towards which they are already orientated. Conversely, it is relatively difficult, perhaps even impossible, to influence others to think, or behave, in ways which are contrary to their basic orientations, values and beliefs, because these are "the anchorages by which they maintain their identities. In short, Goffman's approach is compatible with the Relational approach to communication and is consistent with the analysis of power, dependence and affect which Simmel, Homans, Blau and Emerson, say occurs in its simplest form in the dyadic relationship.

Although Goffman provides no model of communication, his approach has influenced developments in Social Psychology and has also been widely used in the 'ethnomethodological' micro-analysis of conversation in the study of Speech Communication. Douglas (1970) and Penman (ibid), for example, have carried out detailed ethnomethodological research which shares the common assumption that communication occurs as interaction which is based on rules that are usually left implicit rather than made

explicit. Similarly, in Social Psychology, Argyle and Kendon (1967), Argyle (1969) and Argyle and Cook (1970) have argued that social interaction can be analysed in terms of four communication systems; namely, the 'verbal' and the 'intonational', which are often classed as linguistic communication; and the 'paralinguistic' (ie. ('ums', 'ahs', laughing, crying, yawning, etc.) and the 'kinesic' (ie. Body and facial movements, which are classed as non-linguistic communication.

1.5. POWER, DEPENDENCE AND AFFECT IN DYADIC RELATIONS

Communication has so far been discussed as social interaction which, when successful, results in information being shared between a minimum of two participants. This is not a complete description and the relative dominance, or dependence, of either participant, or their shared sentiments, have not yet been considered, just as the context in which these transactions might occur has also been ignored. Any discussion of the nature of dyadic relations and their relationship to larger collectivities has to start with the contribution of Georg Simmel (1858-1918). Two points need to be made about the approach that will be taken towards his analysis of the 'dyad' (and the 'triad') and the impact of these views on current developments. Firstly, Simmel's writings are so wide-ranging and presented in such a disorganised manner that some selection of material is essential. Secondly, his ideas have since influenced social scientists in such diverse fields as Social Psychology, Sociology, Social Anthropology and Communication Network Analysis, that only those applications which are salient to this thesis will be considered.

Simmel attempted to show how dyadic and triadic relations were 'dialectic', in that these transactions were concerned with eliciting a satisfactory definition and meaning from two, or three participants. This raises a problem, however, which may be summarised in the form of the following question which Simmel (and later writers) attempted to answer: If the dyad is to be accepted as the most narrowly specific unit of analysis, how is it that power-

dependence relations are absent in some dyads but present in others? Such behaviour occurs whenever one participant tries to maximise differences, gain control, and exhibits what Rogers and Farace (1975) describe as "one-up" behaviour, whereas the other yields ground and displays "one-down" behaviour. If as they suggest some dyadic relations display a form of 'opportunity cost' trade-off by each participant, how can we account for the 'equilibrium-type' behaviour in other exchanges which, according to Penrod (1983), occurs when the participants feel equal to each other, perceive themselves as possessing the same amount of power and try to minimise any differences between them? Simmel was the first to note that the affect of personal sentiments on dyadic relations could not be ignored and influenced "the degree of symmetry" of the reciprocity in the relationship.

1.5.1. Simmel's Theory of Sociation and Communication as Exchange

Simmel's main ideas can be summarised as follows:-

Society is to be viewed neither as a corporate entity distinct from and exerting constraints upon individuals, nor as an aggregation of corporate entities such as classes and elites, but rather as the modality of interaction among individuals. Individuals enter into interaction with one another (i.e. form "society") in order to satisfy such basic needs as those for companionship and the expression of aggression and to pursue such goals as income, territory, salvation, education and the like. Individuals enter into interaction with only parts of themselves: an individual always stands both within and outside social interaction. The defining characteristic of interaction is reciprocity of effect: A acts on B and in turn responds to B's reaction to him. Interactions differ with respect to the degree of symmetry of such reciprocity, but it is always there to some extent. All human interactions should be viewed as kinds of exchange. Interactions take place in discrete indentifiable forms, such as competition, conflict, super- and subordination, and sociability, having determinate properties that to some extent remain constant

despite variations in content, that is, in the purposes served by the interactions. Interactions relate individuals who stand at varying distances from one another. A major variable in forms of interaction thus concerns the amounts and combinations of horizontal and vertical distance they entail. This is distinct from what may be called the valence of interactions - whether the affect in question is positive or negative. Every tendency in interaction is to some extent balanced by an opposing tendency. The fundamental dualism of social life stems both from man's ambivalent instinctual dispositions and from the need for conformity and individuation, solidarity and antagonism, publicity and privacy, compliance and rebelliousness, and constraint and freedom. Cultural forms emerge in social interaction and become fixed. As such, they are dialectical and stand in a relationship of perpetual tension with the ongoing life processes, which bring about recurrent efforts to modify those forms or create new ones.

Simmel concludes that " The major field of study for the student of society is, therefore, 'Sociation', that is the particular patterns and forms in which men associate and interact with one another", K.H. Wolff (1950) (p.11).

It follows that although all human behaviour refers to the behaviour of individuals, much of it can be explained in terms of the individual's group affiliation, as well as the constraints imposed upon him by particular forms of interaction. A geometry of social life could be developed in which "Society is conceived as interaction among individuals; the description of the forms of this interaction is the task of the Science of Society in its strictest and most essential sense" (p.21-22). This analysis would always be informed by a dialectical approach which brings out the dynamic interconnectedness and the conflicts between the social units.

1.5.1.1. Dyadic Relationships

In his essay "Quantitative Aspects of the Group" (pp.87-177), Simmel

emphasises the structural determinants of social action in terms of two key concepts, the "dyadic" and the "triadic" relationship. The dyadic relationship "differs quantitatively from all other types of group in that each of the two participants is confronted by only one other and not by a collectivity" (p.124). Because each partner in the dyad deals with only one other individual, who forms a unit with him, neither of the two can deny responsibility by shifting it to the group; neither can hold the group responsible for what he has done or failed to do.

Domination does not lie in the unilateral imposition of the superordinate's will upon the subordinate but always involves reciprocal action. Power "conceals an interaction which transforms the pure one-sidedness of superordination and subordination; and the superordinate's action cannot be understood without reference to the subordinate and vice-versa" (p.186). To analyse the behaviour of either member, unilaterally, along the lines indicated in Informational models, would have been rejected by Simmel as an example of what he called "the fallacy of separateness". Clearly, this view is wholly consistent with those of the 'Palo Alto Group' and the other Interactional, Relational and Exchange perspectives of communication referred to earlier in the chapter.

An example of this Simmelian dyadic relationship is included in the stereotyped husband/wife relationship, presented as Figure 1.4.

1.5.1.2. Triadic Relationships

In contrast, the "triad" is the simplest structure in which the group can achieve domination over its component members; it provides a social framework that allows the constraining of individuals for collective purposes. The dyad relies on reciprocity, but the triad can impose its will upon one member through the formation of an understanding between the two others. Simmel identified three processes by which a third member, entering a dyadic group, could influence outcomes; namely, as a mediator, as a "tertius gaudeus"

(the third who rejoices) and, finally, as he who pursues a strategy of "divide et impera" (divide and rule); thus the third member could either create or resolve conflicts between the other two in order to attain a dominant position or other gain. Simmel constructed a gallery of social types to complement his inventory of Social forms and included among these "the Mediator", "the Man in the Middle", "the Adventurer", and "the Stranger", who does not display alienated behaviour, in the Marxist sense, but is

> "a person who comes today and stays tomorrow .... is fixed within a particular spatial group .... but his position is determined by the fact that he does not belong from the beginning. He is an element of the group itself but not fully part of it".

These ideas about different social types have since been developed in the emerging discipline of Communication Network Analysis.

1.5.2. Social Action and Power-Dependence Relations

The contributions of various modern writers whose ideas are derived from those of Simmel are considered briefly below:-

(i) Power-Dependence Relations

Homans (1951, 1961) was influenced by Simmel and in his analysis of Social Action no new propositions are introduced to describe and explain how social behaviour differs from that of individual behaviour, as the "laws" of social behaviour follow from those of individual behaviour "when the complications of mutual reinforcement are taken into account....as measures of the quantity of behaviour emitted by one man to another". These he calls "measures of the frequency of interaction; that is measures of the frequency of social behaviour", yet he recognises that there are alternative social activities and "emphasises the obvious fact that even in social situations not all activity is social". A distinction has to be made between required instrumental behaviour in work situations, for example, when individuals "give their paperwork to the company and get from the company in return salaries and, it may be, promotions", and easily

recognizable behaviour, like conversations". This first activity is non-social in that "we choose not to include the company as a member of the social group", presumably because of the reification problems this would entail, although in this work example we "may have very good measures indeed of the quantity of activity".

Homans distinguishes between the quantity and value of interaction in a number of Human Exchange propositions. Thus "the more often within a given period of time a man's activity rewards the activity of another, the more often the other will emit the activity", from which proposition it follows that the frequency with which person A emits activity to person B will tend to bear some proportionality to the frequency with which person B emits activity to person A. Moreover, the more valuable to a participant the activity he gets or expects to get from the other, the more often he emits the activity that gets him, or he expects will get him, that reward. Conversely, as this expectation goes unrealised and his activity goes unrewarded by the other, the participant emits the activity less and less often. There is mutual dependence of sentiment and activity which within any group (i.e. two or more participants) is revealed in a similar way to that represented in Figure 1.5. Yet there is also a "pyramid of interaction" within groups that differ greatly in the activities they carry on, because "schemes of interaction between leaders on different levels and their followers tend to be strikingly similar". Homans rephrases this argument in the following proposition: "whatever changes occur in the scheme of activities of a group, the scheme of interaction between the leaders of various levels and their followers tends to keep the same pyramidical form". This behaviour may be expected because "the higher the rank of a person within a group, the more nearly his activities conform to the norms of the group". This hypothesis holds for "sub-groups, as well as for individuals". Differentiation may occur between the participants of cliques in interaction, sentiment and activity, as well as between sub-groups in the larger organisation and will depend on the "status" or "social ranking" of members. By "status", is meant that the

participant is "close to the centre of the web of communication in the organisation,...is carrying on a particular kind of activity or maintaining a certain level of activity...and by reason of his position in the web of communications and the kind of job he does, he is highly ranked or valued".

According to Emerson (1962), 'status' or 'rank' will be dependent on relationships which arise from the relative control individuals have over the resources of other people. Thus, applying Emerson's analysis to the stereotyped example shown in Figure 1.5, if the 'Nagging Wife' possesses many of the resources that the 'Withdrawing Husband' wants, then the husband is more dependent on the wife than she is on him. Power in such a relationship would therefore be defined in terms of the relative dependence and inequalities in power would lead to tension which the dependent party would attempt to reduce by resorting to one of four courses of action, as follows:

(a) The dependent husband may decide that he needs the resources provided by his wife less than he thought he did.

(b) He learns to live with the tension and adjusts to the situation.

(c) The dependent husband may attempt to make his wife more dependent on him than she was before, by creating some resource that his wife comes to like, etc.

(d) Assuming both parties have other social ties, the dependent husband may try to find alternative sources of the commodity for which he was previously dependent on his wife. In brief, he can try to extend his network by linking up with other suppliers.

Homan's theory advances a number of propositions that can be used as a basis for field research, which are explored in more detail later, but Emerson's theory begs various questions about the likely reactions of the more powerful participant to any attempts to neutralise his/her power. For instance, how will the 'Nagging

Wife' respond if she 'catches on' to the strategems of her dependent husband? Would she not be expected to try to prevent him from forming other dyadic relationships, to ensure that he remains isolated from potentially sympathetic 'patrons', etc?

(ii) Power and Exchange

These difficulties are resolved by Blau (1964), who also employs an Exchange model of Interaction to explain power and his approach advances from a micro-level analysis of the dyad to a description of how power operates in larger social systems. He argues that Exchange occurs when either goods, services, or other benefits are offered by a person to one or more others in the expectation that eventually their equivalent will be returned. Any participant regards an exchange as a form of 'opportunity cost', with either 'extrinsic' benefits, which consist of goods or services that are separate from the interaction process and the personal characteristics of the participants, or 'intrinsic' benefits, which relate directly to the interaction itself and the personal characteristics of those involved. Although Affective relations are considered as intrinsic benefits, they are not analysed closely by Blau, but are perceived as subordinate to 'the autonomous and inevitable emergence of power as a function of exchange".

1.5.3. Affective Relations

Largely because of their essentially 'ad hoc' character, which makes their occurrence more difficult to predict, Affective relations have not received the same attention from social scientists as have 'Power/Dependence' relations. There is broad agreement, however, that Affective relations refer to the bonding processes which occur when sentiments, such as likes and dislikes, are displayed by the participants in dyadic exchanges, or in groups. Like Homans, Anderson and Carlos (1976), for example, suggest that these social psychological processes "help to explain why network extensions and bonding processes occur. Starting with certain sets of individual

relationships of sentiment and affect, new links can be successfully added". Furthermore, they suggest that if we add the idea that, given P1 likes P2, then P2 will come to like P1, "we can see how mutual or indirect links may become established in a network". It would be implausible to suggest, however, that we develop direct or indirect friendships with all the friends of our friends, nevertheless they argue that the following hypotheses are far more reasonable:

(i) If P1 likes P2 and P2 likes P3, then P1 will come to expect to like P3.

(ii) If the outcome of the first encounter between P1 and P3 is positive, then P1 will or may come to like P3; yet if the outcome is negative, then the likelihood is that P1 will remain neutral or hostile in his/her relations with P3.

Both of these propositions are consistent with Simmel's analysis of the Triad and Homans' analysis of sentiment within the group.

Finally, Nozick (1981) argues that it is through such affective relationships that we are given a special mode of access, a way of coming to know what the other person is doing; "namely the route of 'Verstehen', or empathetic understanding". He adds:

> "Inference about another on the basis of Verstehen depends upon putting yourself imaginatively in his place and seeing him as like you. It is a form of reasoning by analogy, and such considerations always have been given some role in inductive logic and theories or evidential support. Verstehen is a special form of inference by analogy, in that I am the thing to which he is analogous. It is inferred that he is behaving as I would in that situation, a situation that is specified partly subjectively - from a point of view. ....Verstehen depends not only on the analogy between him and me, but on the adequacy of my own self understanding; in order to work, Verstehen must begin at home".

Yet again, Verstehen may be represented by the relationship presented as Figure 1.5, provided that the mutual distrust in the bond is replaced by "mutual understanding", which is discussed below.

1.6. RELATIONAL MODELS OF HUMAN COMMUNICATION

It was not until the late 1960's that the Platonic dialectic view of communication, as mutual involvement in discourse and transactions,

began to be more widely discussed in the social sciences, although the earliest criticism of the Informational approach can be traced back to Birdwhistell (ibid), who argued:

> "An individual does not communicate, he engages in, or becomes part of communication. He may move, make noises .... he may see, smell, taste, or feel, but he does not communicate. In other words, he does not originate communication, he participates in it. Communication is not to be understood as a simple model of action and reaction, however complexly stated. As a system, it is to be comprehended on a traditional level".

Watzlawick et al (ibid) adopted a similar stance by postulating that "all behaviour, not only the use of words, is communication (which is not the same thing as saying that behaviour is only communication) and, since there is no such thing as non-behaviour, it is impossible not to communicate". For them, the minimal requirements of communication potential are achieved by two persons in each other's perceptual field; and this potential is realised whenever the participants, as a system, behave in a non-random manner. Non-randomness is essential to achieve an exchange process which constitutes a patterned flow of exchange between the members of the communication system. Bateson (ibid) and Hawes (ibid) are in agreement there. For the former, we are to "regard patterning or predictability as the very essence and raison d'etre of communication". Whereas Hawes (ibid) goes further and defines Human Communication as "a patterned spatio-temporal circuit of concatenous events involinng two or more persons who are within each other's perceptual field".

Shands (1967) notes that the communication process occurs in real time and space and is both successive, irreversible and concatenous, which means it is a never-beginning and never-ending continuum. Penman (ibid) states that the obvious problem with this approach is that there are no 'natural units' available to describe the process, so how can it be measured? Bateson (ibid) introduces a "punctuation" process, yet this conflicts with the concept of process, but Shands (op.cit.), Watzlawick et al (ibid) and Wilden (ibid) resolve this

dilemma by arguing that any form of punctuation must be arbitrary, not to imply randomness, but to indicate the multitude of alternatives available. Watzlawick et al (ibid) and Hawes (ibid) argue that the arbitrary punctuation process could be interpreted from up to three perspectives, viz. from within the role of one of the participants, from without in the role of an observer, viewing an exchange as a locality to begin with, and later more analytically in terms of dyadic units. Figure 1.6 shows their communication process, from the more analytical standpoint, in terms of dyadic units.

The Relational approach postulates that people's environmental and social contexts are not merely the circumstances under which the transfer of information through face-to-face interaction can occur, but form the very phenomenon of communication itself. That is to say, following Simmel (ibid) and Homans (ibid), Bateson (ibid) argues that communication constitutes the overall system of relationships people develop between each other, with the community and the habitat in which they live. Any difference (i.e. change or transformation) which alters any part of this system is called 'Information'. It follows that an individual cannot therefore be said to engage in communication (i.e. the Informational approach), or merely participate in it (i.e. the Interactional approach), for he is already an indispensable part of it; in the same way that he is, whether he wishes it or not, a part of the local as well as the global ecosystem, immersed in it at birth and released from it only at the moment of death. A search of the literature up to 1986 reveals no evidence of field studies based upon the relational model of human communication, but the "Palo Alto" approach has apparently been used effectively in psychiatry, counselling and in developing speech communication theory.

1.6.1. Criticism of the Palo Alto Approach to Communication

The Watzlawick et al (ibid) approach to communication is not without critics, however, and Wilder (1978) has objected to the expansiveness

of their all-embracing definition which does little, if anything, towards formulating systematic studies of communication and the major contribution. In conclusion, the major advantage of the Palo Alto approach lies in the logical flaws it reveals in traditional Informational models of communication.

1.6.2. The Convergence Model of Human Communication

The Convergence model has been included because it comes closest to the Relational approach in its definition of human communication and has been utilised as the basis for field research by Rogers and Kincaid (ibid). In their evaluation of a highly successful development programme in the Republic of South Korea, they studied one village that was participating in a government-sponsored strategy of mobilising interpersonal networks, as a means of popularising birth-control methods by enrolling 750,000 members nationally, through the formation of 28,000 mothers' clubs in the towns and villages.

Kincaid and Schramm (1975) and Kincaid (ibid) define communication as a "process in which the participants create and share information with one another in order to reach a mutual understanding. It is always a joint occurrence, a mutual process of information - sharing between two or more persons". This definition is consistent with the model of communication shown in Figure 1.7. For Kincaid and Schramm mutual understanding is the intention or primary function of communication but it is never in any absolute sense due to the inherent uncertainty of information-exchange. Their model differs from the concatenous example of the stereotyped "husband-wife" relationship in Figure 1.5 in that an "equilibrium state" results in a sharing of information between both parties. Several cycles of information sharing about a topic may increase mutual understanding but not complete it, yet perfect mutual understanding, if possible, is rarely required for practicable purposes, and communication generally ceases when a sufficient level of mutual understanding has been reached for the task in hand. The model is depicted in Figure 1.8 which is intended

to reflect "the convergent nature of mutual understanding, and the cyclical nature of information-exchange", Rogers and Kincaid (ibid).

1.6.3. Analysis of the Convergence Model of Human Communication

The model has yet to be criticised, in the literature up to 1986 is and appears to have the following two important advantages over previous models, as well as one theoretical shortcoming:

Firstly, the model deals with 'feedback' in the appropriate cybernetic context in that the "negative" consequences of the communication exchange are recognised but are logically accommodated in terms of the context of 'mutual understanding'. That is to say, the 'energy loss', incurred by both participants in achieving comprehension will either cease (say, as they both separate), or will 're-open' as they move to another aspect of the communication exchange (or, in plainer words, they change the subject). Secondly, the substitution of the terms 'express' and 'interpret' is more compatible with current thinking in Semiotics (Note 2) than the mechanistic-related terms of 'source' and 'receiver'. In fact, the participants are described as "transceivers" in the communication process. Finally, the model may be criticised, for not taking the concatenous nature of communication fully into account; and it concentrates on a single exchange, explaining how it is resolved through mutual understanding but without indicating how this 'artificial' episode came into existence.

1.7. TOWARDS A GENERAL EXCHANGE MODEL OF HUMAN COMMUNICATION

Notwithstanding the advice of McQuail (ibid) that any model of human communication which incorporates all the requirements would probably be so grotesque as to defeat its explanatory purpose, it should be possible to present a comparatively simple model which attempts to meet the requirements of both the Interactional and Relational approaches and is also compatible with the Informational approach to human communication.

Such a model is presented as Figure 1.9, and has been divided into four interdependent stages for explanatory purposes only. The model is intended to represent communication as a concatenous process which entails the mutual exchange of information, i.e. a dyad, as advocated in the Convergence model; and Stage 1 refers to all the completed 'episodes', or previous dyadic "exchanges" that have occurred before the emerging dyadic unit, shown in Stages 2 and 3, takes place. The 'never-ending continuum' character of communication is represented in Stage 4, in that no sooner is the focal 'episode' in Stages 2 and 3 completed, than another will begin to emerge and so on, as long as the Participants A and B remain in each other's perceptual field.

The "exchange" model has the following characteristics:

Firstly, Stage 1, represents the communication 'episodes' that have occurred since the Participants A and B entered each other's perceptual field and incorporates the idea of "two helixes interacting and intertwining" to explain the process of communication as interaction with perceived others; in this case one other person, as suggested by Dance (ibid). Stage 1 is also compatible with the Shand's (ibid) requirement that the communication process must be postulated as describing a successive, irreversible and concatenous continuum, occurring in real time. Secondly, Stages 2 and 3 represent separate activities, occurring simultaneously in real time. Stages 2A and 2B represent the Intrapersonal aspects of communication described in the Dance (ibid) model, as perceived by the Participants, A and B, respectively. It is therefore possible to focus on the behaviour of either individual in the context of the other (i.e. Does A perceive that communication has occurred with B, and vice-versa?) The Dance 'mattress spring' is incorporated in Stage 2 as a geometric analogue of human communication. Thirdly, Stage 3 represents the progression towards 'mutual understanding' incorporated in the Schramm and Kincaid (ibid) Convergence model, which is preferred to the Berlo (ibid) model, for example, because it accounts for 'Feedback' in the acceptable

"cybernetically negative" way demanded by Bateson (ibid). Fourthly, the emergent 'dyadic unit', represented by Stages 2 and 3, also meets the requirements of the Goffman 'Interaction' communication exchange, in that the emergent properties of the dyadic unit are determined by the transaction between the participants, A and B, represented by Stage 3. Finally, the 'Power-dependence' relationships described by Homans (ibid), Emerson (ibid) and Blau (ibid), as well as the Affective relationships, described by Anderson and Carlos (ibid) and Nozick (ibid), may all be analysed in terms of the model. This arises because the dyadic unit represented in the model also meets the additional requirements of Watzlawick (ibid), Laing and Cooper (ibid) and Hawes (ibid) by being capable of interpretation from up to three perspectives; namely, from within, in the role of either participant, from without, from the standpoint of an observer who witnesses the exchange between the participants and, finally, more analytically in terms of dyadic units.

The "exchange" model presented here is not entirely original and what explanatory power it possesses lies in the way that it attempts to resolve the theoretical shortcomings in the earlier models from which it has been synthesised. The indebtedness to Dance (op.cit.) is self-evident. His analogy of the "double Helix" has merely been pursued to its logical conclusion, by following the previously neglected suggestion by Dance that two helixes are necessary to represent communication between two people. It should of course be stressed that the "exchange" model is presented as a geometric analogue only, which is intended to reconcile the Informational viewpoint with the Interactional and Relational approaches to human communication, by focusing on the dyadic unit as the simplest of communication exchange, or episode, and therefore as the basic unit of analysis that connects the individual with a collectivity, by establishing which of the 'perceived' links of a focal individual, A, are reciprocated by the links 'received' from participants, B, C, D, E, etc.

1.8. CONCLUSIONS

The value of the Exchange approach to communication may be summarised as follows: Firstly, without setting out to 'disprove' Informational models of communication, according to Harré and Lamb (op.cit.), the Exchange approach

> "replaces the handy but restrictive framework of Aristotelian epistemology with a systems approach and, unlike the former i.e. the Informational approach, which has proved valuable for analysing simple systems, the latter has proved to be uniquely suited to dealing with moderately to highly complex phenomena".

Secondly, the Exchange approach is able to fulfill this claim by offering not just an analysis of the communication 'act' from the standpoint of either focal participant, but it is also capable of analysing interaction, initially, at the dyadic, and then at the triadic and more complex levels, so that atomic propositions about individual behaviour can be converted into relevant molecular propositions which, in turn, can be used to offer valid explanations about social life in larger collectivities, using Network Analysis techniques which will be considered in the next chapter. Thirdly, the Exchange approach may also be used to show how the conditions of social life within an organisation result from the unintentional consequences of action. That is to say, how 'prescribed' behaviour is transformed into unforeseen 'emergent' behaviour over time. The basis for this assertion is, as Cohen (1968) notes, that

> "whereas action alone emphazises individual or collective intention, interaction emphazises the unfeasibility of carrying out most intentions without creating consequences which were not intended; for as soon as one actor must take into account the actions of another, he is no longer master of his own destination".

Fourthly, by adopting the Exchange approach, organisations can be conceived as systems of interaction in which change occurs 'dialectically' through various negotiable 'Power-Dependence' and 'Affective' relationships, which result in the mediation of the prescribed 'intentions', or norms, of the members by the emergent

conditions in the 'internal' and 'external' environments of the organisation and by the ad hoc processes of interaction itself. Finally, in explaining how social structures and systems operate, the Exchange approach avoids the reification and teleological difficulties which arise as soon as Informational models of communication are used to explain organisational behaviour in terms of Structural-Functionalism theory, to which the former is related. Thus, reification would occur, if the individual was ignored and communication data were to be analysed solely in terms of the roles played by participants in an organisation. Similarly, the main logical difficulty with Structural-Functionalism is that it provides teleological explanations (Note 3), offering hypotheses which, again, according to Cohen (op.cit.) are "untestable....(and) inhibit comparison".

NOTES

1. W B YEATS, 'Among School Children', Collected Poems, Macmillan, London (1931).

2. Semiotics is the study of signs which, according to Charles Morris (1955), 'Foundations of the Theory of Signs' in 'International Encyclopedia of Unified Science', Vol. I, Part I, Chicago, University Press, p.84) may be studied in terms of three relationships. Semantics (signs related to objects), pragmatics (signs related to behaviour) and Syntactics (signs related to other signs). It follows that Human Communication should be considered under pragmatics, which is the standpoint of the 'Palo Alto' School. This leads to the view that Human Communication issues should be analysed in terms of General Systems Theory.

3. Teleological Explanations

A teleological explanation suggests hypotheses which are untestable, by demanding a level of inquiry which exists in the natural sciences but is out of place in the social sciences and therefore prevents legitimate comparisons being made. "A doctrine or theory is said to be teleological if it explains the existence of some phenomenon by asserting that it is necessary in order to bring about some consequence; more specifically, teleological theories are said to explain one thing by showing that it has beneficial consequences for another". For example, that religion exists in order to sustain the moral foundation of society, or that the State exists in order to coordinate the various activities which occur in complex societies. "In both these cases, a consequence is used to explain a cause; the end conditions of religion and coordination are used to explain the existence of religion and the State. It is as though one were to say: X produces Y, therefore the occurrence of Y, which is desirable, must explain the occurrence of X".

(Percy S. Cohen, Modern Social Theory, Heinemann, London, 1968, p.47).

CHAPTER 2 : THE ANALYSIS OF ORGANISATIONS AS COMMUNICATION NETWORKS

"Don't ask the meaning of a word: ask the use!"

Wittgenstein (Note 1)

INTRODUCTION

According to Burt (1980), the main advantage of perceiving organisations as social groupings that display relatively stable patterns of interaction over time is that this offers "a powerful framework for describing social differentiation in terms of relational patterns among actors in a system". This approach has two further benefits which include "a connection between micro and macro-level theory" and "an epistemic link between abstract concepts and empirical research". Essentially, this means that the focal organisation can be analysed as a communication network from either an individual, dyadic, group or system standpoint. Previous writers; Katz and Kahn (1966), and Farace, Monge and Russell (1977), also recognise this link between micro and macro-level social analysis and suggest that this could be explored more effectively in terms of four major systems levels.

The Individual: who processes information along with other members of the larger environment in the organisation.

The Dyad: which is the minimal unit of communication that occurs when two people interact in an organisation.

The Group: which is a set of individuals bound by work and/or friendship relationships, "or some other reason for aggregating together".

The Organisation: which is defined as

> "a set of at least two people who pursue common goals through interdependent actions, even though conflict may be present, by utilising energy as materials or information from the environment, to develop co-ordinated and controlled relationships". Farace et al (ibid).

Studies at the organisational level, known as Organisational Communication, have so far failed to link all of these concepts in

terms of empirical research and,according to Farace et al (ibid), almost 60 per cent of these studies concentrated on the Individual-level of analysis, 25 per cent were focused on Groups, "and the remaining 15 per cent with the Dyadic and Organisational levels". Furthermore, they considered research on individuals to be suspect because it treats subjects "as isolated entities in the larger organisational setting" and studies "changes in the individual" and "individual differences, rather than on any concern for the individual as an interdependent part of a system".

2.1. CRITIQUE OF PREVIOUS ORGANISATIONAL COMMUNICATION RESEARCH

Roberts et al (1974) are equally critical about the lack of theoretical models for integrating organisational and communication variables, whereas Porter and Roberts (ibid) insist that "writers in this area are often unclear about what they mean by organisational communication".

Yet the most sustained critique of the inadequacy of different approaches to organisational theory to accommodate communication theory has been advanced by Roberts et al (ibid) and Porter and Roberts (ibid) as follows:-

(i) Classical Structuralism

Under this heading, Porter and Roberts group the writings of Fayol (1949), Gulick and Urwick (1937), Mooney and Reiley (1939), Taylor (1911) and Weber (1947), because these writers describe organisations "as closed and static systems, stressing authority, span of control and other integral structural relationships". They add that "communication is seldom specifically discussed by the classical writers", and conclude that "one problem in applying the classical principles to organisational communication is that they are too broad and elusive to be of much help".

(ii) Human Relations

Porter and Roberts cite the work of McGregor, Argyris and Likert as illustrative of the Human Relations approaches to Organisational

Communication. They note that "Strangely, McGregor (1960), ignores almost totally the role of communication in developing democratic participative, Theory Y (as opposed to autocratic Theory X)". They add that Argyris (1957, 1960) is equally reticent in referring directly to aspects of Organisational Communication although Likert (1961) specifically prescribes the use of informal networks in creating healthier organisations and he "discusses communication as an aspect of group decision making and of various management systems", yet he never specifies the nature of these activities. Porter and Roberts remain unimpressed and conclude that "these theorists are not specific in identifying important components of communication, nor do they suggest testable hypotheses relating communication to other organisational variables".

(iii) Behavioural Decision Theorists

Under this heading, Porter and Roberts include the writings of Simon (1951), March and Simon (1958) and Cyert and March (1963), which develop a common view of organisations as functionally specialised goal-seeking, decision making structures. These writers "are considerably more complex in their views of organisations than are the Classical Structuralists, but they direct less attention to the broad range of human behaviour than do the Humanists".

According to Porter and Roberts, the important aspects of this approach are the "definition of the components of information, distortion and gatekeeping and describing how they occur" and they conclude that "neither they nor the Structuralists stress the need to examine the influence of individual behaviour on communication in organisations".

Roberts et al note that "consistent with the work of Simon, March and Simon, etc., are the writings of Woodward (1965), and Pugh et al (1968)", who "have not yet discussed at length the process of Organisational Communication". Communication is only mentioned briefly and indirectly and is not separated from "organisational dimensions

such as authority, role formalisation and sub-unit configuration". Roberts et al also refer to Perrow (1970) and his analysis of organisational structure in terms of technology, goals and environment, although technology is thought to be the prime determinant of structure. According to Roberts et al,

> "Broader speculations about communication influences on decision making can be implied from the Perrow work .... which suggests a testable hypothesis: communication, whatever it is, should be the same at the interpersonal level in different organisational sub-units with similar technologies and internal organisational communication should differ between units with different technologies".

Perrow's analysis will be examined in more detail later in this chapter.

Otherwise, they are critical of the "relatively static approaches to internal organisational mechanisms", which suggest "a more abstract level of organisational analysis than the other writers" previously mentioned.

(iv) Process and Systems Theorists

For Roberts et al, "the distinction between the Humanist, Behavioural Decision-Theorist and Systems or Process views of organisations are somewhat artificial". They note that "Process writers direct our attention away from searching for simple vicarious independent-dependent variable relationships and toward research which relates simultaneously numerous variables at different conceptual levels". They add that Katz and Kahn's (ibid) attempt to integrate the organisational context and small group dynamic work through Open Systems theory, which results in the organisation being conceptualised as dependent on the environment for inputs necessary to keep it viable, which, in turn, absorbs outputs from the organisation. These inputs and outputs can include people, materials and also information "in restricted communication networks" that define and link production, etc., and other organisational sub-systems. Roberts et al consider a major shortcoming of Open Systems theory to be "that it is constructed

at such an abstract level that it is difficult to reduce its principles to researchable hypotheses. Secondly, little attention is given to how information gets into the organisations".

2.2. CRITIQUE OF THE PORTER AND ROBERTS AND ROBERTS ET AL ANALYSES

(i) Reliance on Linear Models of Communication

Roberts et al note that "the adoption of a sender-channel-receiver schematic has been suggested elsewhere (Barnlund, 1979); Guetzkow, (ibid) and this would probably be helpful in future research efforts" (p.108). This model of communication has already been criticised in the previous chapter because it presupposes a mechanistic, cause-effect model of organisative communication which would be incompatible with a systems or contingency perspective where the emphasis is on inter-dependency, but which has, by the author's own admission, failed to reconcile communication theory with organisational theory.

(ii) An Organisational Psychology Bias

Leavitt (1962) identified and helped to define the emerging discipline of Organisational Psychology

> "as differing from Classical Industrial Psychology and Human Relations Psychology in terms of its greater concern with descriptive and experimental research; its emphasis on understanding organisations as well as improving them".

The emphasis of the organisational psychologists is on what Pfeffer (1982) describes as "Purposive, Intentional, Goal Directed, Rational perspectives on human action".

Roberts et al adopt a similar perspective in their critique of Herbert Simon's (ibid) view that organisational and communication theory are reconcilable when he claimed that "organisations exist because the behaviour of people in them can be influenced through communication". Yet Roberts et al enquire: "Does this mean that all organisational phenomena are subsets of communication? Authority, control and motivation, etc. are clearly not aspects of

communication but are expressed through communication". Here they appear to assume, without providing adequate grounds, that there are both social phenomena, such as leadership, motivation and control, and communication. Nevertheless, as was mentioned in the previous chapter, this viewpoint has been strongly challenged by the 'Palo Alto' group; and Roberts et al do not appear to have given serious consideration to the Watzlawick et al (ibid) proposition that "All behaviour, not only the use of words, is communication, which is not the same thing as saying behaviour is only communication".

(iii) An Inadequate Description of Systems Theory

Roberts et al omit an adequate account of the Systems approach to Organisation theory and also fail to discuss key concepts, such as boundaries, boundary roles, and differentiation of tasks and the growth of specialisation within the organisation, which have an important influence on how information enters, circulates and leaves organisations in the same or an altered form. These ideas are developed in the following section.

(iv) Omission of a Contingency Theory Perspective

A surprising omission from both of the above-mentioned analyses is any discussion of the contributions to a Contingency Theory perspective by writers such as Burns and Stalker (1961), Woodward (ibid), who is mentioned but not discussed, Lawrence and Lorsch (1967), Galbraith (1971) and Greiner (1972); whose work was accessible at the time; and who all share a common perspective, based on empirical research, that it is the attributes of the environment and technology that determine the structure of organisations and influence the behaviour of the people who work in them.

The work of Burns and Stalker (1961) is relevant because it refutes a conclusion of Roberts et al about the Structuralist approach that "they have not yet discussed at length the process of Organisational Communication". Burns and Stalker identified links between group

structural properties and organisational design, when the latter is defined in terms of a Mechanistic/Organic continuum. The Mechanistic organisation is identified as "having precise definition of rights and obligations and technical methods attached to each role". This pronounced structuring of activities takes the form of a "hierarchical structure of control, authority and communication with the content of communication being instructions and orders". Conversely, the Organic model of organisation is characterised by "the continued redefinition of individual tasks" within "a network structure of control, authority and communication", resulting in low concentration of authority and low centralisation, "with the content of communication being information and advice". This approach will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

2.3. A SYSTEMS APPROACH TO RELATIONSHIPS

Briefly, a system is conceptualised as an interdependent set of elements or events which is assumed to be more complex than the elements composing it. Functionally, a system consists of an inter-related sequence of behaviours occurring in time to produce an overall effect, but this cannot be deduced by considering the system as a set of contiguous elements, and can only be understood "as a resultant of concatenous events", which are "seen as interlinked or interwoven behaviours", Penman (op cit).

According to Krippendorf (1975), a Systems approach to the study of communication processes has at least three major advantages over a non-Systems approach: Firstly, it provides a methodology for dealing with not only one communication link at a time, but a large number simultaneously. That is, to say, the way that particular dyads relate to cliques and clusters can be investigated. Secondly, it can investigate more than just the unitary features of one sender and/or receiver, but many other important relationships among a possible large number of communications, ie. which may be analysed as a

"network". Thirdly, it is not restricted to one-way processes, but can investigate "dyadic" and complex circular flows of information.

This viewpoint is supported by Rogers and Argawala-Rogers (1975) and Monge (1973) who argues that, since human communication is not characterised by universal patterns, because "similar communication occurring in different cultural situations may operate according to different logics...we need an explanatory form which admits to a variety of logics" (other than the Set Inclusive Logic of scientific explanations) and "permits changes in the choice of logic until one is found which is isomorphic with the phenomenon we seek to explain.. if we are to recognise patterns in rather than impose patterns on human action". Rogers and Argawala-Rogers (ibid) adopt the same stance and argue that:

> "If one accepts a systems viewpoint in communication research, which implies that all the elements in a total system are interdependent, the search for mechanistic cause/effect relationships (which is implied conceiving human communications, as independent and dependent variables) is futile: instead one should be concerned with the study of wholes".

2.3.1. A Systems Approach to Organisation Theory

Katz and Kahn (ibid) Open Systems theory of organisational behaviour has the following characteristics:

Boundaries: All organisations are differentiated from and dependent on the environment in which they exist and import energy from, before transforming this and returning it to the environment. Boundaries are not physical entities, but are defined in terms of communication flows.

Entropy: is a characteristic of 'closed' systems and refers to the loss of energy which results in deterioration, which is avoided by 'open' systems, which constantly exchange energy (i.e. information, etc.) with the environment.

Information and Negative Feedback: The most basic kind of information a system can receive is 'negative feedback' which indicates any

deviations from a planned course, without which the system cannot correct itself.

A Steady State: All open systems strive to achieve a balance between the input and output of energy.

Differentiation: The steady state is maintained over time through greater differentiation of tasks and a growth in specialisation. This view is supported by the Burns and Stalker (ibid) finding that organisations tend to move from an initial 'organic' state towards a more 'mechanistic' structure which is characterised by increased specialisation.

2.4. THE RELEVANCE OF COMMUNICATION NETWORK THEORY TO ORGANISATIONAL BEHAVIOUR

Rogers and Kincaid (ibid) define a Communication Network as consisting of "interconnected individuals who are linked by patterned flow of information", by what Tichy and Fombrun (ibid) describe as 'transactions'. Anderson and Carlos (ibid) define "Networks" more broadly, however, as "sets of direct and indirect social relations, centred around given persons, which are instrumental to the achievement of their expectations, demands, needs and aspirations". These writers share the view that networks should be regarded as the conscious products of an individual's attempts to manage and control his relevant and instrumental transactions. They also accept that networks simultaneously reflect a person's sentiment and affective attachments; and acknowledge that the links of individual members are dynamic and liable to be activated, allowed to lapse, or be realigned, as participants act out their lives in response to the influence of other members. Finally, this common theoretical ground shared by these writers is based upon the writings of Park (1924), Cooley (1956), Moreno (1934), Homans (ibid), Blau (ibid) and Emerson (ibid), but also on advances in Social Anthropology by Frazer (1919), Malinowski (1924), Levi-Strauss (1969), Boissevain (1974), Kadushin (1976) and Mitchell (1969).

It has already been suggested that to conceive networks as dynamic, ie. as possessing continuous tendencies to reform, is compatible with the Open Systems perspective yet this position begs a fundamental question about what sort of structures these focal networks have evolved from during the process of change. There is no widespread agreement about how this question should be answered and, according to Baumgartner, Buckley, Burns, Tom R., and Schuster (1976), some social sciences emphasise social system stability so that, once institutionalised, "the system is predominantly 'morphostatic' and tends to maintain its characteristic structures", whereas others assume that 'morphogenic' processes prevail, "that is, structures tend to change or to be reorganized", so that structural stability should be regarded as problematic.

Dahrendorf (1959) described these interacting systems of society in his critique of the Structural-Functionalism and Neo-Weberian Schools' of Sociology, and his 'A-B' models are presented as Figure 2.1. Model 'A' is called the 'consensus', or 'integration' model which Cohen (ibid) claims "attributed to social systems the characteristics of commitment, cohesion, solidarity, consensus, cooperation, integration, stability and persistence". Model 'B' is called the 'coercion' or 'conflict' model and has the characteristics of "coercion, division, hostility, dissensus, conflict, malintegration and change". In short, the first model emphasises the significance of group norms and legitimacy, whereas the second stresses the importance of stratified interests and power.

Dahrendorf's analysis, in common with that of Burns and Stalker (ibid), is derived from Durkheim's key concepts of "Mechanical Solidarity" and "Organic Solidarity", as stated in the latter's 'The Division of Labour' in 1888 (Lukes, 1973). In assimilating Durkheim's ideas sociology into their typology of organisation structures, presented as Figure 2.2, Burns and Stalker follow Dahrendorf in arguing that their ideal-typical forms of 'Mechanistic' and 'Organic' structures are neither mutually

exclusive nor, necessarily, genuine alternatives; and models of organisation structure can be conceived which contain some 'Mechanistic' and some 'Organic' characteristics as well. Burns and Stalker stress that "the two forms of system represent a polarity not a dichotomy; there are, as we have tried to show, intermediate stages between the extremities empirically known to us", and "the relation of one form to the other is elastic, so that a relative change may also oscillate between the two forms. A concern may (and frequently does) operate with a management system which includes both types" (p.122). This distinction is often ignored and their ideal-typical forms are treated as dichotomies in the study of Organisational Behaviour. This interpretation was never intended by Burns and Stalker, and Charles Handy (1976) was probably the first to recognise this when he noted that "they identified the need for a different structure when the technology of the market was changing" (p.409). Furthermore, if structures do alter, then Communication Network Analysis can assist in identifying where specific changes have occurred, as well as revealing whether similar patterns of communication are maintained among members, who either utilise the same technology, or retain the same roles of job categories in an organisation, over time.

This form of analysis, which would relate the disciplines of Organisational Behaviour and Communication theory, depends on the construction of what Burns (1967) previously referred to as a "comprehensive classificatory system", within which dynamic lower-to-higher levels of generality may be analysed, ranging from the involvement of individual members and their behaviour up to the relationship of the organisation as a system with its environment. The Burns' holistic view is supported by Silverman (1976), who notes that the Burns and Stalker study implies an Open Systems perspective because "it seeks to take account of the full range of imputs into an organisation". Burns (ibid) adds that, at the individual level, interaction is characterised by the principal norms of the working structure, as well as by the ongoing political process, in which those involved compete for power, and the accepted status structure, in which they compete for prestige.

Kanter (1977) distinguishes between the overt power displayed by 'entrepreneurs' in organisations and that of the 'intrapreneurs', who behave as "quiet entrepreneurs", by engaging in communication "in a collaborative/participative fashion...persuading much more than ordering...team building...seeking imput from others...showing political sensitivity to the interests of others and last but not least, a willingness to share rewards and recognition".

An essentially entrepreneurial form of Power has been explicated in the resource-dependency model by Emerson (ibid), wherein power is inversely related to some form of subordination. This arises, according Pfeffer (1981), from the inevitable division of labour in organisations which ensures that power emerges from the dependencies that exist between the members as they carry out their work. The intrapreneurial form of power has been described by Nozick (ibid) and Anderson and Carlos (ibid). Syntheses of both forms have been proposed independently by Simmel (ibid), Blau (ibid) and Homans (ibid); and a summary of these approaches is presented in Chapter 1.5. Furthermore, following Goffman (ibid) and Penman (ibid), it is possible to adapt the stereotyped 'husband/wife', shown as Figure 1.5, to analyse power in supervisor/subordinate relationships from a communication perspective in organisations. Thus, according to Roloff (1976) situations can be conceived where Actor A attempts to get Actor B to do something Actor A wants accomplished by employing one or more of a variety of communication strategies. These might involve promises and rewards for compliance, threats of punishment for non-compliance; appeals to the other's feelings, to the morality of the request, to altruism, or to debts owed to the person making the request. Each of these strategies could also be passive or aggressive, or pro- or anti-social in orientation.

Burns (op cit) adds that, although analytically separate, each of these 'power-games' interacts with another, so that one game is frequently manipulated to further the interests of the participants in another game. Different communication procedures, described in the

Mechanistic-Organic typology, are required as a result of the game-like qualities of social life in organisations which will vary with the status of the participants and, according to Silverman (ibid), give rise to not one but "a series of games, each with its own meanings and standards of behaviour". The practical consequences of these different communication activities, according to Burns (ibid), is that "there is a plurality of action systems available to the individual", any one of which may be evoked as a frame of reference to adjust to, or alter, the specific contingencies of a particular system.

In conclusion, Burns and Stalker's dynamic conception of organisational structure, emerges from the interaction of the two ideal-typical forms, in response to changes at the individual clique and 'system' levels in the 'internal' and 'external' environments of the organisation, to provide a comprehensive theoretical framework for integrating organisational theory with research into communication networks.

Tichy, Tushman and Fombrun (1979), Tichy and Fombrun (1979) and Pearce and David (1983), for example, have employed this typology for analysing information flows in organisations, using a social network framework. The Pearce and David typology is presented as Figure 2.3 and the other approaches are discussed in more detail below.

2.5. The Tichy and Fombrun Network Analysis of Payne and Pheysey's Study of Three Organisations

Tichy and Fombrun (ibid) argue that the emergent structures and related behaviour patterns in networks have been misleadingly labelled as "the informal organization, and are never treated conceptually and empirically together with the formal structure". They should be treated together, "as each emergent structure (and prescribed structure) has its own social and functional logic. Each is amenable to similar systematic analysis". For them, it can be assumed, metaphorically, that the "prescribed organization structure provides the pegs upon which the emergent network hangs". Furthermore, the prescribed network can be distinguished from the emergent network by emphasizing

the type of transaction involved, which in turn "calls into play an exchange theory orientation to social ties and structure" (Blau, 1964; Homans, 1961).

The Dimensions and Properties of Networks are presented in Table 2.1, and Tichy et al maintain that these different networks may be distinguished in an organisational context as follows:

(i) exchange of goods;

(ii) affect and liking (cognitive);

(iii) information and ideas (cognitive);

(iv) influence and power (prescriptive).

They add that "by analysing each as a distinct network structure, we are able to test propositions about both variations between prescribed and emergent networks, as well as between different emergent networks"; and they apply this analysis to the earlier research of Payne and Pheysey (1973), which is described below.

Payne and Pheysey (ibid) carried out an extensive study of three organisations in the Midlands, as part of the Aston Studies, which have been attributed variously to Pugh, Hickson, Hinings and Turner (1969); and Hickson, Pugh and Pheysey (1969). Essentially, the Payne and Pheysey study is a neo-Weberian analysis of three manufacturing firms, known as 'Brum', 'Carrs' and 'Aston' in terms of the following dimensions: Number of employees; a Woodward (ibid) Technology Classification, viz. either 'batch', 'mass', or 'flow' production; a Structuring of Activities Score; a Concentration of Authority Score; and the Number of Levels of Authority.

Fifty-two organisations were previously studied in the larger Aston Studies, but Payne and Pheysey also carried out additional sociometric studies of the nominations of the members of formally designated work teams in three of these firms, as well as calculating measures of interaction and group membership. The authors, aware of the

limitations of this approach, drew attention to an obvious gap in their analysis, due to a failure "to take account of spatial propinquity". Their analysis was also limited by the unavailability of suitable computer programs and by the tendency to focus research on the sociometric aspects of small groups within, rather than across the total organisations.

Tichy and Fombrun re-analysed this data using two Network analysis programs, SOCK and COMPLT, designed by Alba and Kadushin (1976), which they claim enabled them to adopt a "Gestalt perspective of both the Influence and Interaction Networks within each organisation". Their analysis attempted to fill the gap in the original study by providing "a social map which enabled overall qualitative comparisons of social structure to be made between the three organisations". A means was also provided of separating the "Emergent Networks of both Influence and Interaction, not only from the Prescribed Networks within each firm, but also from each other". Additional analysis allowed them to derive Network clusters empirically, using Payne and Pheysey's original data, and also calculate a set of Standard Network measures, thereby extending the possible range of analysis of the original Aston Studies. These measures include Interaction indices relating to the Density, Connectedness, and Visibility of the Network structures, as well as Clustering indices within the Networks, relating to Openess, Interrank membership, Overlap, and Interconnectedness within the different firms.

These analyses allowed Tichy and Fombrun to claim that they were able to move beyond a sociometric perspective of the Payne and Pheysey research towards an analysis of social structure which offered "real promise for bridging micro and macro" constructs in organisations. In short, the "Prescribed" and the "Emergent" networks were to be regarded as "interdependent". They postulated this association as "a two-way causal relationship" which allows an organisation to be conceptualised in dynamic, or process Open Systems terms, as described by Katz and Kahn (ibid), or with the Contingency Theory concepts of

"Mechanistic" and "Organic" systems, as advanced by Burns and Stalker (ibid), the perspective actually adopted, which they used "as a shorthand to categorise prescribed networks which then allows for a comparison of emergent networks organisations with different prescribed networks".

2.5.1. Critique of the Tichy and Fombrun Analysis

Apart from a comment by Pfeffer (ibid) that: "social network analysis is more of a paradigm and a framework than a theory, and more promise than fulfilled potential" because "organisations are, in important respects, relational networks and need to be addressed and analysed as such", Tichy and Fombrun's ideas have not received any detailed analysis in the literature; and the following drawbacks should be noted:

Firstly, Payne and Pheysey state that their research refers solely to the managers in three firms. Thus, 22 line employees at 'Aston', and a further 14 out of 412 employees at 'Brum' were actually interviewed. Tichy and Fombrun base their Network Analysis on these small samples and read interpretations into the data which go much further than any intended by the original authors. They also fail to meet their own criterion that "network methodology is based on complete information, that is, sociometric data from the total population" (op cit p.954).

Secondly, Tichy and Fombrun misinterpret both Payne and Pheysey and Burns and Stalker (ibid), in describing each of the firms as 'mechanistic' organisations, for the latter show elements of the 'mechanistic' and the 'organic' ideal-typical forms. This is borne out by the responses Payne and Pheysey obtained to the following question they asked of each respondent about their 'Perception of Group Membership' (ie. "When people work together, they quite often form, or are formed, into teams or groups, either because the work to be done requires more than one person to do it, or because people like each other and just enjoy working together, or both. Do you see yourself as a member of any teams or groups of this kind? If

you do, please write down the name of all other members of such teams or groups. If you can give the team or group a name, please do so").

Thirdly, their use of Payne and Pheysey's data to formulate "Emergent Networks" raises questions about the validity of this analysis, in view of their earlier criticism of Payne and Pheysey's work (ie. "They asked respondents to name the groups they belonged to, which from one perspective led to a bias" op cit p.950).

That said, Tichy and Fombrun employ an interesting Network Analysis of the perceived and received communication data to separate 'cliques' and 'clusters' from participants in all three organisations. Given the small size of the original Payne and Pheysey samples, however, it is doubtful that they are entitled to conclude that they have provided a "Gestalt perspective", or a "social map which enabled overall qualitative comparisons of social structure to be made between the three organisations".

Finally, it is never stated how an "Emergent Network" is to be defined, given that Payne and Pheysey only collected data on the number of links (ie. the 'perceived' contacts) and the number of dominations received by each respondent. They did not analyse the dyadic links between participants and Tichy and Fombrun do not discuss this measure of interaction either, which raises important questions about precisely how the 'Emergent' network differs from the 'Prescribed' network. It is surely not just a matter of different transactional contents,ie. with the Prescribed network, following (Homans, ibid), presumably consisting of Information, Goods and Decision Networks; and the Emergent Network consisting of the Friendship and Affect network, because Tichy and Fombrun state that "emergent networks in mechanistic settings have more affective transactional content, rather than task-relevant information or influence". In short, there is a need for a more comprehensive approach than the one used by Tichy and Fombrun and a way forward is apparent in two relevant typologies, which have since been presented by Burt (ibid) and Fombrun (1982).

2.6. THE BURT AND FOMBRUN TYPOLOGIES OF COMMUNICATION NETWORK STRUCTURE

Burt (ibid) argues that, despite plurality of approaches, it is possible to "discuss models of network structure in terms of a six-fold typology defined by two axes: the aggregation of actors in a unit analysis versus the frame of reference within which the actors are analysed". The various types of models to be discussed in each of the six analytical models are presented as Figure 2.4.

Three levels of aggregation are distinguished across Figure 2.4, as follows.

(i) Relations among all actors in a system are treated as a single unit of analysis.

(ii) Actors are aggregated into network subgroups so that subgroups within a system can be compared as units of analysis.

(iii) The relations in which one actor is involved may also be described so that the individual is the unit of analysis.

Additionally, at each level of aggregation, two analytical approaches may be used to distinguish network structures. These approaches differ as frames of reference within which an actor may be analysed, as follows.

(i) The Relational Approach

This describes aspects of the relationships between pairs of actors. According to Burt (ibid), the Relational approach "develops social-psychological concepts of differentiation. Network structure is described in terms .... in which individuals are involved .... and connected within cohesive primary groups as cliques".

(ii) The Positional Approach

This describes the pattern of relations defining any one actor's position in a system of actors. According to Burt (ibid), the

Positional approach develops "concepts of differentiation. Network structure is described as interlocked....status/role sets, in which actors in a system are stratified".

Burt concludes by expressing a preference for the Relational approach, chiefly because it allows inferences to be "made about the typical relations in large populations from interviews with a random number of actors" .... This is in contrast with models adopting the Positional approach which "with few exceptions require data on all actors in the population".

2.6.1 The Fombrun Typology of Network Strategies

Fombrun (ibid) argues that any set of individuals, groups, or organisations, is tied together by different relations, similar to what Boissevain (ibid) refers to as "multiplex bonds". From this it follows that the aggregate network is an overlapping set of networks of different transactional content. It should therefore be possible to distinguish each network by its content, before analysing it as a separate network, and then examining the interrelationships between the different networks which make up the aggregate network. In support of this approach, Fombrun restates the classic statement of Group theory by Homans (ibid), in which networks of 'affect', 'interaction' and 'activities' are linked by clear theoretical propositions, which can be tested through observation of the dynamic changes in all three networks. A summary of the Fombrun Typology is presented as Figure 2.5.

Interestingly, although Fombrun stresses the sociological roots of the typology, it would have been possible to arrive at the same position by adopting a social anthropological perspective, particularly that of Mitchell (ibid), who also reached the same conclusion independently of Homans, that Exchange networks can be categorised according to their transactional content.

Fombrun proposes that the following two kinds of network can be distinguished.

(i) Attributive Networks

These link individuals who share a commonality (such as similarity of goals, status, sex, or other attributes).

(ii) Transactional Networks

These focus on the exchanges that occur among a set of individuals.

Following Kadushin (ibid), the Transactional content is divided by Fombrun into the following four types; previously mentioned under Section 2.6.

(a) Expressive: referring to the liking, friendship or affect between members.

(b) Instrumental: referring to the 'power' of members in terms of their status and ability to take decisions in the organisation.

(c) Cognitive: referring to the information and ideas exchanged between members.

(d) Objective: referring to the goods exchanged between members.

Fombrun concludes that all of these networks should be identified as "each has a dynamic of its own .... and a variety of options are open for an analysis of each relational set".

Like Burt, Fombrun also describes three different methodologies which can be used to analyse the total network, as follows.

(iii) A Nodal Strategy

This reduces the original network to its individual nodes.

(iv) A Dyadic Strategy

This allows the same network to be analysed in terms of all possible paired combinations of the nodes.

(v) A Triadic Strategy

This bases the analysis of the network on an inventory of all the possible triads of nodes.

2.7.2. Strengths and Weaknesses of the Different Strategies

(i) Nodal Strategies

These are grounded in the cross-sectional comparison of the set of individuals on a variety of network indices and their attraction lies in the simplicity of the approach. Thus, the total network may be summarised by a single measure, such as Network Visibility, which records the number of perceived links to others for each member, as a ratio of the total possible links in the network and, according to Fombrun, "is related to the attributes of the individual, or properties of the situation he or she is in" at the time.

Nevertheless, there is a fundamental weakness with this Methodology that cannot be ignored; namely, that it is based upon an Informational model of human communication and, in Fombrun's words, "totally reduces the network context to the direct linkages between individuals and uses nothing of the network pattern in the analysis". Network strategies focus on what Boissevain (ibid) describes as the "Ego network" which, following Moreno (ibid), describes the "Social atom, centred round a specific person". The approach allows us to learn much about how a focal person perceives his/her activity in a particular network, but tells us nothing about how this behaviour is perceived by the other members.

(ii) Dyadic Strategies

This perspective is grounded in information about the overall network which is presented as pair distances, or proximities, which can be calculated for any pair of individuals using mathematical techniques concerned with Cluster Analysis or Graph Theory. According to Sonquist

and Koenig (1976) and Roestacher (1971), a graph is simply "a set of points and a pair of lines connecting selected pairs of points".

The use of Graph Theory in the social sciences for the analysis of sociometric data is well established, as it allows objects such as individuals, groups, or other interacting cliques, to be considered as one or more points and the relationship between them to be represented as lines connecting these points. Feasible proximity measures, which can be justified in terms of Cluster Analysis theory, can also be provided when Row and Column correlations of the network are presented as a relational matrix using techniques developed by White et al (1976), Granovetter (1976) and Sailer (1978). Non-computer analyses were carried out until comparatively recently, but a range of special Network programs, such as Breiger et al's CONCOR (1975), Richards' NEGOPY (1976) and Alba and Kadushin's SOCK and COMPLT (1976) has provided a rapid means of calculating Indices of Proximity in the analysis of networks.

The outcome of these different approaches is that four different strategies have emerged for carrying out an analysis at the Dyadic level in a network, and these are summarised below.

(a) Properties of a specific pair may be related to the network proximity, to establsh possible explanations and consequences of their closeness or distance. Typical hypotheses might refer to similarity of positions, demographic details, attitudes or preferences, as consequences of observed network proximity.

(b) Dyads may also be aggregated to construct a spatial representation of the total network.

(c) The aggregate network may be further described in terms of structural parameters of dyadic density, more commonly known as "cliques" and "clusters".

(d) Finally, the Graph Theory concept of "Completeness", or "Cohesiveness" within the context of Social Psychology, may be used to identify maximally completed sub-graphs, i.e. "cliques", which in turn consist of those individuals in the network with the maximum number of dyadic interconnections.

According to Fombrun (ibid), Dyadic strategies have the great advantage over Nodal strategies of analysing the links recorded by individual members in a way that allows the overall network pattern of these relationships to be identified; and the only serious weakness with this approach is that of possible "misleading clustering", which can be traced back to the problems associated with hand-drawn "cliques" in the early days of Sociometry, as these were often unwittingly influenced by the personal bias of the research worker. Rogers and Kincaid (ibid) are also alert to this particular problem, but argue that the risk is diminished considerably if a computer program is used that has been specifically written for the analysis of communication networks.

(iii) Triadic strategies

Triadic strategies have mainly been used in sociology by Burt (ibid) for studying concepts such as "Power", by testing for the presence (or absence) of a specific relationship across a social structure in very large networks. A good example is Burt's impressive study of interlocking directorates held by the senior executives of leading "blue chip" corporations in the United States. According to Fombrun (ibid), a Triadic structural strategy is "most appropriate to the analysis of networks of instrumental and effective relations in situations in which linkages are not necessarily reciprocated and directionality is theoretically critical". It should be added that there is no evidence in the literature of a Triadic strategy being used in Communication Network Analysis.

2.6.3. Comparison Between the Burt and Fombrun Typologies

There are obvious similarities between the definitions of Attribute Networks and Burt's Relational approach and Transactional Networks the Fombrun typology, on the other. Furthermore, just as Burt expresses a preference for the Relational form of analysis, so Fombrun nominates the Transactional Network approach as the more incisive on the purely pragmatic grounds that "there are probably more possible causal attributes than there are types of exchange networks".

Fombrun clarifies his position on the matter, as follows:

> "If one begins with the Attribute Network, exchanges are seen as dependent characteristics or as consequences of the Attribute Network pattern. Similarly, if one begins with the Transactional Network, individual attributes become the 'explanans' or causes of the Transactional configuration".

Similarly, clear comparisons can also be made between two of the three levels of aggregation distinguished by Burt, (i.e. all the actors are treated as a single unit of analysis, or the individual may be regarded as the unit of analysis) and the different model strategies described by Fombrun, nevertheless further clarification is needed of how individuals should best be aggregated for further analysis as network sub-groups.

Burt and Fombrun provide a similar way of dealing with this problem, by suggesting that network "sub-groups" are analysed as either "interlocked status/role sets, in which actors in a system are stratified", by adopting the Positional Approach or, in Fombrun's case, as Attributive Networks which "link individuals who share a commonality".

Neither writer is explicit about the relationship of these different sub-groupings with either 'mechanistic' and 'organic' organisational structures, or with 'prescribed' and 'emergent' networks. Presumably, Burt and Fombrun were unaware of Burns' (1967) earlier call for a

comprehensive classificatory system, which would permit an analysis of dynamic 'internal' transactions, involving higher-to-lower levels within the network, down to the level of individual involvement, as well as the involvement of members in interstitial relationships in the wider environment. Nor have they considered the importance of Technology and its impact on organisational structure, as argued by Parsons (1960) and Petit (1967), or on the processing of information, particularly when an Open Systems perspective is adopted, as argued by Perrow (1972), Mintzberg (1976) and Checkland (1981).

2.6.4. The Relationship Between Organisational Structure, Technology and Communication Networks

Perrow (op cit) also adopts a Systems perspective, yet he regards Technology as the prime determinant of organisational structure and classifies the main tasks in a typology presented as Figure 2.6 arguing that the non-routine cell "resembles what others have called the organic, as opposed to themechanistic structure", but adds that "there are few of these" because "this type of structure is probably efficient only for highly non-routine organisations". In contrast, most firms fit into the routine cell as "it is in their interest to fall into this category because it means greater control over processes...much more certainty of outlook...the discretion allowed to both supervisors...and administrators is minimal - there is little ambiguity in these situations". Whereas Perrow analyses types of firm, Parsons (op cit) concentrates on the mechanistic form of organisation structure in his description of the 'Managerial System' within an organisation which involves three interrelated levels, including "the technical core activities, inter-organisational interactions and inter-institutional relationships". Petit (op cit) derives his analysis from Parsons and describes "the firm as a composite system", influenced by "inputs into the system... at the)... technical, organisational and institutional levels", which result in "outputs into the environment" that are subjected to "the intrusion of

environmental forces across these different boundaries". The Petit model is presented as Figure 2.7.

Mintzberg (op cit) presents a model, which has been adapted by Payne and is presented as a Tree Diagram of a School, in Figure 2.8, derived from the earlier work of Petit and Parsons, in which five main ways of achieving coordination, at either a formal or informal level, within an organisation are identified amongst people doing different tasks, as follows:-

(a) Mutual Adjustment: which relies on informal day-to-day communication and agreement; (b) Direct Supervision: by one person taking responsibility for ensuring that other people carry out prescribed tasks satisfactorily; (c) Standardisation of Work Processes: ensuring from the outset that jobs are carefully designed so that the system/technology determines what jobs are done; (d) Standardisation of Work Output: ensuring that the nature and quality of the completed task are specified and achieved; and (e) Standardisation of Skills: professionals are perceived as replaceable sub-systems of the overall system, in that anyone can be replaced or substituted, if the need arises, by another professional with the correct training and skills.

Similarly, activities within the system are divided into five broad categories, each of which, according to Mintzberg, "attempts to pull the organisation toward different structures", viz.

1. The Strategic Apex: decided on the goals and policies of the organisation.
2. The Middle Line: consisting of managers and supervisors, etc., who ensure that policies and procedures are followed.
3. The Operating Core: includes all the people who do work on the outputs and services of the organisation.
4. The Techno-structure: includes specialists who analyse problems and provide solutions, e.g. accountants, personnel, etc.

5. The Support Structure: includes servicing staff, such as cleaners and canteen staff.

Mintzberg approached the problem of explaining how coordination is achieved in organisations by reverting to Role Theory. Thus, the 'Manager' assumes several 'informal' roles, as well as the more 'formal' duties. These informal roles include the 'Interpersonal' roles of 'Figurehead', 'Leader', and 'Liaison', as well as the 'Informational' roles of 'Monitor', 'Disseminator' and 'Spokesperson', and the 'Decisional' roles of 'Entrepreneur', 'Disturbance Handler', 'Resource Allocator' and 'Negotiator'.

It should be noted that, although Mintzberg claims that the typology can be applied to both 'manufacturing' and 'service' organisations, there is an omission in the Tree Diagram of a School which suggests that the model has been influenced by a predilection towards 'manufacturing' organisations. More specifically, one of the main distinctions between 'manufacturing' and 'service' organisations is the relative proximity of their respective 'customers' for the goods or services which are being provided. That is to say, it would be uncommon to find customers in regular face-to-face contact with the majority of the members of manufacturing organisations. Economic factors related to geographic location and the division of labour have resulted in the intervention of a form of 'arm's length' principle between most of the members and their customers; so much so, that separate functions, such as Public Relations, Customer Liaison and Consumer Services, have been established as aspects of Marketing by large manufacturing organisations, to ameliorate any difficulties that may arise with their customers. Nevertheless, the Mintzberg typology provides the basis for a useful method of investigating how information is processed by the members of the "five elements of the internal system", (ie. the Strategic Apex, the Middle line, the Techno-structure, the Support Structure and the Operating Core of the organisation), yet he barely discusses the "external system" and makes

only a passing reference to the involvement of different 'elements' in what Kadushin (ibid) describes as important "Interstitial" Networks.

Finally, Checkland (op cit) adopts an Open Systems perspective and focuses attention on the importance of monitoring information flows in both the 'internal' and 'external' systems. In contrasting an 'Industrial Firm' with a 'University', Checkland (ibid) draws attention in his field studies to the fact that, as far as 'external' systems are concerned, there is not one, but various 'environments' with separate information flows which may be known by different members of the 'internal' systems. A simple model is presented as Figure 2.9. The Checkland analysis does not devalue the importance of management but, clearly, one or more of these integrating roles may also be undertaken by non-managerial members of an organisation, as indicated by Kast and Rosenzweik (1981), as follows:

> "The systems view suggests that management faces situations which are dynamic, inherently uncertain and frequently ambiguous. Management is not in full control of all the factors of production as suggested by traditional theory. It is strongly restrained by many environmental and internal forces. The technical system, the psycho-social system and the environmental system all constrain the management system".

Despite these restraints, it is envisaged that the following functions would still be carried out by members of management, whether based in the Strategic Apex, the Middle Line or the Techno-structure, etc.

(a) Appraisal of information on available resources, in terms of people, capital, technology or materials.

(b) Collection of information on company constraints and environmental data, etc.

(c) Compilation of plans, including the appraisal of future investment or divestment and long term market changes.

(d) Allocation of resources to operational and business systems within the prescribed organisational structure.

(e) Monitoring of performance of the operational system, leading to control through the possible modification of plans.

2.6.5. Towards a Comprehensive Classificatory System for Communication Network Analysis

With particular reference to 'service' organisations, and using hotels as an example, because all the classical functions of Production, Accounting, Administration, Sales and Marketing, Personnel and Engineering are organised under the same roof, (although the following analysis could be applied to other service organisations, such as schools, libraries, or hospitals, etc.), it is contended that the senior members of the organisation, eg. the managers or supervisors in an hotel, would be unable to complete the functions summarised in (a) to (e) above, without engaging in regular transactions in both the internal and external networks. In the case of the external networks, these could be classified as either 'interstitial', eg. regular communication with Head Office, or as 'unknown' third parties, eg. dealing with a new travel agency, a customer enquiry by, say letter or telephone, or with another supplier for the first time. Similarly, participation in the different 'internal' networks in the hotel would tend to depend on whether a member worked alone, in a group, or was required to have regular 'contact' with guests in the hotel, ie. the users of the goods and services provided.

Using these simple criteria, it should be possible, empirically, to classify, all the jobs carried out in an hotel under the following typology:

JOB CLASSIFICATION	CHARACTERISTICS
1	Works alone, has no or very infrequent communication with either guests, head office, or third parties.
2	Works alone and has frequent communication with guests, but not with head office or third parties.

3 Works in a group and has frequent communication with third parties, but not with guests or head office.

4 Works alone and has frequent communication with third parties and head office, but not with guests.

5 Works in a group and has frequent communication with guests and third parties, but not with head office.

6 Works alone but has frequent communication with guests, head office and third parties.

It is now possible to construct a comprehensive classificatory system, as advocated by Burns (ibid), for the Communication Network Analysis of the social interaction, which occurs as transactions in 'service' organisations, using an hotel as an example, in the following two steps:

Firstly, the Group Structural Properties described by Pearce and David (ibid), presented as Figure 2.3, can be classified as Communication Network characteristics. This is achieved by relating the different characteristics of Mechanistic and Organic structures to the different Network Analysis strategies of Burt (ibid) and Fombrun (ibid), shown in the Figure as low-to-high levels of analysis, in keeping with the Inductive approach towards this research which was summarised in the Introduction to Chapter One. That is to say, starting with individual participants, successive levels of social complexity can be conceptualised for any organisation, which are based on interactions in groups or larger collectivities. The amended model is shown as Figure 2.10.

Secondly, the Mintzberg (ibid) typology of Organizational Structural Elements, presented as Figure 2.8, and the related Job Classifications are examples of either Burt's "Positional frame of reference", described in Paragraph 2.6 (ii), or of Fombrun's "Attributive Network", described in Paragraph 2.6.1 (i), and can be related to both the Prescribed Network characteristics of Mechanistic structures and the Emergent Network characteristics of Organic structures of 'Service' organisations, as shown in Figure 2.11. By way of example, this figure also shows how all the jobs carried out in an hotel can be categorised under the six Job Classifications and the Mintzberg Structural Elements are related to the Prescribed or Emergent Communication Network characteristics referred to in the previous paragraph.

2.7. SUMMARY, SYNTHESIS AND CONCLUSIONS

If integration of the functional activities carried out in an organisation is the product of the social interaction that occurs between the members, it follows that the existence can be demonstrated using Communication Network Analysis, so that variations in the nature and the degree of integration can be explained. Thus, functional integration in a focal social group would depend on the various transactions that were carried out according to accepted norms, and it should also be possible to distinguish between

(a) the participants who interact in more than one network; and

(b) those who interact in one network yet fail to interact with others in all possible networks; from

(c) those who are relatively isolated and never interact directly with some participants, except indirectly through the mediation of the few members with whom they have contact.

The most reliable description of these networks should occur when the widest range of network strategies is adopted in the research methodology. For example, a 'Nodal' strategy is necessary to identify the 'perceived' and 'received' communication links of each participant

and, without this, the communication nexus of a focal individual could not be defined in terms of other participants. Similarly, a 'Dyadic' strategy is necessary for this data is to be analysed so that each reciprocated link can be identified and the different communication roles of the participants (ie. the isolates and opinion leaders, etc.) are revealed. Finally, although 'Triadic' strategies are employed explicitly by sociologists, they are also used implicitly whenever data is manipulated to investigate the presence of cliques, etc., in Communication networks.

The theoretical assumption underpinning these strategies is the inductive rationale of Graph Theory which enables dyadic links to be extracted from perceived and received data until successive levels of interaction are established that link a focal individual through dyads or cliques to the total network. Following Simmel (op cit), the nature of these relationships is always dialectical, because individuals only enter into interaction with part of themselves and a focal individual would always stand both within and outside social interaction. The analysis could be applied to the four transactional networks that were derived by Tichy and Fombrun (ibid) from Homans' recasting of Simmel's classical analysis of dyads, triads and 'sociation'. Further analysis of data would enable cliques to be identified in the Information, Goods, Decisions networks, either singly, or in aggregated 'prescribed' networks. This analysis could also be extended to identify the 'emergent' networks, which would differ from 'prescribed' networks to the extent that interaction shifts from the above-mentioned three networks to involvement in the Friendship and Affect network. These analyses need to be made explicit because of the ambiguity that exists in the Tichy and Fombrun explication of the characteristics of prescribed and emergent networks.

Measures of density or 'connectedness' in single or aggregated networks can be calculated using either Burt's (ibid) 'relatedness' or Fombrun's (ibid) 'transactional' stratgies. Comparisons could also be made between networks using different 'positional' or 'attributive'

variables such as age, sex, length of employment, rate of pay, or job classification which, following Homans (ibid), would describe the status of participants in terms of their involvement in the organisation's different internal and external communication networks. Time should also be included in order to bring in process, otherwise the behaviour being investigated could only be treated cross-sectionally. This would best be achieved using the Cattell (1952) 'Data Cube' technique which will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

It has already been noted that, by failing to correct for the presence of social stratification in their reworking of Payne and Pheysey's (ibid) study of information flows between managers, Tichy and Fombrun's social network analysis of three organisations is incomplete because it refers to a single 'stratum' only and is also based on an unrepresentative sample of the total 'population' of each of the three organisations. Deciding how to define social stratification in an organisation is a complex issue, however, because the roles played by the various participants may be classified from various perspectives; for example, as managers, supervisors and operatives in a formal organisational chart, or as administrative, technical, non-technical and supportive activities when, following Perrow (ibid) or Mintzberg (ibid), the organisation is conceptualised as an Open System.

If a representative sample of the participants is included in the network Analysis, separate ways have been described by Kadushin (ibid) and Checkland (ibid) of classifying participants according to their involvement in the different 'internal' and 'external' information flows which make up the prescribed and emergent networks in an organisation. Frequent involvement in the internal networks which affect the operational structure of an organisation would be open to most members, with the possible exception of those who work alone in lower status jobs. Furthermore, relatively fewer lower status participants would be directly involved in the external information

flows which link the organisation with a changing environment. Kadushin (op cit) describes this latter form of involvement as 'interstitial behaviour', and Checkland (ibid) indicates that these boundary-spanning roles are normally undertaken by managers.

Following Homans (ibid), a typology can be constructed which classifies the participants employed in 'service' organisations according to whether they work alone or in groups, are required to deal with customers, or participate in the 'interstitial' networks. A focal individual's involvement in the prescribed network could then be determined empirically by recording the frequency of his transactions in the separate Information, Goods and Decisions networks. Similarly, the emergent network could be established by aggregating the individual's reciprocated friendship and affect links with the prescribed network data. Following Burns and Stalker (ibid), the characteristics of a 'mechanistic' organisational structure would be displayed by a greater predominance of transactions which were carried out in the prescribed networks.

Conversely, the characteristics of an 'organic' organisational structure would be apparent the more that transactions occurred in the emergent network. In short, by restricting the boundaries of the prescribed network to include the exchange of information, goods and decisions, the emergent network could be identified empirically by monitoring the extent to which changes occur in these three sub-networks as a result of exchanges in the friendship and affect network being taken into consideration.

Attention has already been drawn to the limitations of focusing solely on either a mechanistic or an organic perspective of organisational structure because, taken separately, each fails to provide a suitable framework for the simultaneous analysis of both ideal-typical forms which Burns and Stalker (ibid) found to exist in most of the organisations in their study. Lawrence and Lorsch (1967)

and Glazer and Halliday (1980) obtained similar findings and the latter concluded:

> "A mechanistic or bureaucratic structure is unstable....firstly, because the formalised picture of the managerial structure of a bureaucracy does not represent its 'operational' structure and, secondly, the stability of the bureaucracy is dependent on the external perturbation it encounters".

The Communication Analysis of prescribed and emergent networks would therefore provide an independent method of studying the co-existence of mechanistic and organic structures in an organisation; and Bacharach and Lawler (1980) and Fombrun (1984) argue, for example, that the greater the interaction between members, the greater the functional integration, which will be characterised by greater compliance, solidarity, conformity, consensus and cooperation. This behaviour will lead to greater system integration, which refers to the process of coalition-building that will occur in different networks as participants extend their influence and power across the organisation, until some members will emerge as the 'opinion leaders' in the more dominant and/or enduring coalitions, which have been analysed by Bacharach and Lawler (ibid) and Fombrun (ibid), using the concept of 'Organizational Governance'.

This latter analysis is closely related to developments in Social Anthropology by Mars and Nicod (1984), who derive a 'New Classification for Hotels' from Mary Douglas's (1978, 1982) concepts of 'Grid' and 'Group', which are used "to produce two constructed scales independent of each other". Thus, Grid describes "the total body of rules and constraints which a culture imposes on its people in a particular context", whereas Group is "a measurement of the strength or weakness of people's association with one another in the workplace". Cross-tabulation of the Grid-Group dimensions by Mars and Nicod (op cit) produces four main types of social environment which correspond to the Fombrun (op cit) 'Organizational Governance' concepts, as follows:

Grid/Group Dimensions	Organizational Governance Dimensions
Insulated Subordination	Autocracy
Bureaucratic	Oligarchy
Individualistic	Democracy
Competitive Entrepreneurality	Collaborative and Competitive

These models are presented as Figures 2.12 and 2.13.

Both of these approaches will be discussed again in Part Three of the thesis.

Finally, it cannot be overlooked that conflict is also inherent in any organisation in which a division of labour has been introduced and the participants are placed in situations where incompatible activities or interests regularly occur unless normative influence is directed at reducing tensions between the members. Unless such conflicts are resolved, some participants will be less likely than others to carry out these activities and will leave their employment. By using the Cattell (ibid) 'data cube' technique to monitor changes in the membership of networks over time, Communication Network analysis should also provide an independent method of investigating Labour Turnover in an organisation, although it is recognised that other factors would also influence the continued participation of individuals, and these issues will be examined more closely in the next chapter.

NOTE

1. Philosophische Grammatik, Ludwig Wittgenstein, Basil Blackwell, 1969, p.1, line 43.

CHAPTER 3 : PARTICIPATION IN ORGANISATIONS AND LABOUR TURNOVER

"Even where physical movement or disengagement is permitted, it does not necessarily occur. On the whole, men move most easily from those groups or systems where affective commitment, and identification with common symbols which evoke or sustain such commitment, is low".

Percy Cohen (Note 1)

INTRODUCTION

Precisely why certain individuals decide to remain members of collectivities whereas others decide to leave is a complex issue which Cohen (ibid) refers to as 'The Problem of Participation'. The subject is regarded as complex because the continued participation of individuals in, for example, work organisations may be due to instrumental reasons, such as remuneration, conditions of employment, or "the absence or ignorance of alternatives, unwillingness to accept a change in environment, the perception of present or future advantages in continued participation, involvement in a network of social relations...and the need for strong and familiar social ties, and so on".

3.1. PARTICIPATION IN ORGANISATIONS

Flowers and Hughes (1979) argue that the continuing participation of employees in organisations is less frequently investigated than the problem of labour turnover. This is probably due to the widespread belief among businessmen that if only the reasons for turnover can be identified, then corrective action could be taken which would result in its reduction. This view is probably fallacious and Flowers and Hughes (op cit) argue that it is based on two glaring defects. First, labour turnover studies are usually derived from exit interviews which inevitably look at one side only; namely, the termination side, although they maintain there is ample evidence that "one individual will stay in a job under conditions that would cause another to start pounding the pavements". Citing the divorce rate as an analogy, they add that "the reasons...why some people get divorced and why others

stay married...are entirely different". In short, they conclude that if the reasons for getting divorced are "not merely just the opposite of the reasons for staying married", then it is feasible to assume that individuals apply unrelated rationales for terminating their jobs than they do for continuing in their employment. Secondly, it is often assumed in the literature that labour turnover and job dissatisfaction are strongly correlated, from which it is inferred that "a low turnover rate implies employees are pleased with their jobs and therefore, a fortiori, productive" which, of course, is not necessarily true.

Flowers and Hughes (op cit) support their analysis with a study of 406 employees from three companies who were asked to provide personal data on twenty-one demographic variables, before indicating their reasons for staying in their present employment (including factors both inside and outside the companies which were chosen from a pre-tested list of reasons), and then provide personal value-statements about their understanding of the work ethic that operated within the company where they were employed. These findings indicated that 'inertia' was the main reason why the respondents remained in their jobs and they tended to stay with the company until "some force caused them to leave". Furthermore, an employee's inertia was strengthened or weakened by the degree of compatibility between his own values and the company's work ethic. The latter were derived from societal norms then mediated through the formal decisions and policies which were prescribed and implemented by management. Thus, a widening gap between the two value-sets "weakens inertia: a narrowing gap strengthens it". Outside of the company, this inertia was affected by "an employee's perceived job opportunities in other institutions" and by non-work such as "financial responsibilities, family ties, friendship and community relations".

Flowers and Hughes (op cit) classified respondents using a matrix, which contrasted Job Satisfaction with Environmental Pressure, as

leading to reasons for them to stay in, or terminate, a job in both cases:-

(i) The Turnovers: who were dissatisfied with their work, had few environmental pressures keeping them in their jobs, and would soon leave.

(ii) The Turn-Offs: who were also dissatisfied with their jobs, but stayed for mainly environmental reasons.

(iii) The Turn-ons: who were satisfied with their jobs but stayed mainly for reasons associated with the job itself.

(iv) The Turn-ons-plus: who were the most likely to stay in their jobs because of high job satisfaction and strong environmental reasons for remaining at work.

Within these categories, they also found that low-skill employees stayed primarily for environmental reasons and seven of the ten reasons cited for staying related to the non-work environment, whereas the few work-centred reasons for staying referred to fringe benefits and job security. Managerial and supervisory staff stayed primarily for reasons relating to their work and the company. Six of the ten reasons cited for staying were related to job satisfaction, three to the company, and only one to the external environment. Semi-skilled, clerical and administrative staff were found to be closer to managerial and supervisory staff in their responses than to low-skilled employees; and seven of the ten main reasons cited for staying related to their jobs and the company, rather than to environmental factors. Finally, the study also revealed that low-skilled employees were more likely to be 'Turn-offs' whereas managerial and supervisory staff were more likely than the other employees to fall into the 'Turn-ons' category.

To conclude this section, there are two outstanding questions that still need to be raised: Firstly, to what extent do the findings in the neglected field of Job Tenure research complement those provided in the voluminous Labour Turnover literature? Secondly, since most

modern researchers claim to adopt an 'imput-process-output' Systems perspective, why is Job Tenure neglected in the majority of studies in favour of causal explanations of the Turnover process?

3.2. A REVIEW OF THE LABOUR TURNOVER LITERATURE

Labour Turnover has been extensively investigated in the social sciences for almost seventy-five years, viz. Crabb (1912). The volume of research has tended to multiply more rapidly during the last decade; thus Pettman (1975) cites over 900 references, whereas Price (1977) adds a further 300 references, primarily from a social psychological/ sociological perspective, and Muchinsky, Tuttle and Morrow (1980) estimate that between 1,500 and 2,000 publications, including papers, books, monographs, etc., are now available on the topic. Only a fraction of these publications could be read and the following critique is based on an analysis of nine major reviews of the existing literature which have been carried out during the past thirty years by Brayfield and Crockett (1955); Herzberg, Mausner, Petersen and Capwell (1957); Vroom (1964); Schuh (1967); Porter and Steers (1973); Mobley, Griffeth, Hand and Meglino (1979); Muchinsky et al (ibid) and Steers and Mowday (1981).

3.2.1. Causal Inferences

Without exception, all the reviews focus on the empirical findings of various studies which have been designed and analysed to establish causal inferences from the data, as follows.

3.2.2. Overall Job Satisfaction

The first three of the above-mentioned reviews restrict their investigation to only one set of predictors; namely, the concept of 'Overall Job Satisfaction' as a predictor of turnover; that is, to say, they endorse the view that the less satisfied employees are, the more likely they are to leave their jobs.

3.2.3. A Multi-Variate Approach

The fourth review by Schuh (ibid) widens the scope of the analysis by investigating turnover in terms of a wide array of variables, but without reaching any specific conclusions.

3.3.4. The Categorisation of Variables

Porter and Steers (ibid) analyse a wide range of variables and categorise the various studies of turnover under five categories, each representing a different 'level' in an organisation; ie. organisation-wide, immediate work environment, job-related, personal, and overall job satisfaction.

3.2.5. An Alternative Categorisation

Mobley et al (ibid) and Steers and Mowday (ibid) share the same theoretical standpoint; namely, that 'Affect', in the form of job satisfaction, job involvement and organisational commitment, influences subsequent behaviour to stay in or leave an organisation.

3.2.6. The Muchinsky et al Literature Review

The extensive review by Muchinsky et al (ibid) groups previous research under the following five categories: Attitudinal (Job Satisfaction), Biodata, Personal, Work-Related and Test-Score Indicators, such as personality, intelligence, or aptitude. Their main findings in each category were as follows:

(i) Attitudinal:
The thirty-nine studies under review yielded highly consistent results and the vast majority of research indicates that "people withdraw from their jobs because they are not satisfied with their jobs".

(ii) Biodata:
The sixteen studies that used biodata items as predictors of turnover were criticised for not specifying the items used

during the interviews. That said, the conclusion was that, "the vast majority of evidence indicates that biodata items can in fact predict turnover reasonably well".

(iii) Personal:

The twenty-seven studies under review considered the relationships of Age, Tenure, Family Size and Family Responsibility, respectively, with Turnover. Employee Age and length of employment were found to be consistently and negatively related to Turnover, whereas the relationship with Family Size is moderated by whether the employee is a primary or secondary wage earner.

(iv) Work-Related:

The forty-one studies under review considered the relationships of Receipt of Recognition and Feedback, Work Unit Size, Job Autonomy and Responsibilty, Supervisory Characteristics, and Miscellaneous factors, respectively, with Turnover. Findings were "very diverse", but Work Unit Size and Task Repetition were found to be positively related to Turnover, whereas Receipt of Recognition, Job Autonomy and People-oriented Leadership factors were negatively related to Turnover.

(v) Test Score:

The forty-four studies under review considered the relationships of Personality, Interest, Intelligence, and Aptitude and Ability, respectively, with Turnover. Many of these studies were not cross-validated and results were found to have "a very marginal impact on turnover" or were "somewhat mixed".

(vi) General Summary:

It is concluded that Turnover is a predictable criterion and that Biodata (personal history) items appear to be the best predictor of Turnover, although very consistent results have

occurred, using Attitudinal Factors (viz. Job Satisfaction), yet the point is made that "while many findings are statistically significant, the practical significance of some of the findings remains questionable". Personal factors, "such as tenure and family responsibilities have also been found to be consistently related to turnover".

3.2.7. The Clegg Critique of the Causal Inference Approach

Clegg (1983) adopts a more critical stance and argues that previous empirical investigations of the psychology of Voluntary Turnover are methodologically flawed insofar as that they have failed to consider systematically the range of plausible rival hypotheses necessary to enable causal inference. The relevant literature is typically subsumed under "the psychology of withdrawal" which implies a particular theoretical perspective. Clegg considers the impact of "Affect" (viz. Job Involvement, Organisational Commitment, or Job Satisfaction) on subsequent behaviours and argues that the studies carried out in this field have "failed to use research designs and analyses that enable the elimination of competing explanations".

Stated more formally, this criticism advances the proposition, originally stated by Cook (1963) and Cook and Campbell (1979), that

> "causal inference between any two variables requires the simultaneous analytic consideration of each of three hypotheses. These are that Variable X influences Variable Y; that Y has an impact on X; and that X and Y are associated only insofar as they are both related to a third factor, Variable Z. Straightforward analysis of the association of one variable at one time with another later is not in itself sufficient to demonstrate a causal relationship".

In plainer words a significant relationship between Job Satisfaction and Labour Turnover may be interpreted in one of three ways:

(a) 'Job Satisfaction influences Turnover'

(b) Previous Turnovers may have influenced the level of Job Satisfaction and

(c) Both variables may be associated to the extent that they covary with a third factor, such as the age, or sex of the respondents, job class, pay, etc.

Clegg's criticism of previous research designs indicates the need to develop rival hypotheses to minimise the possibility that designs which include 'Variable Z', or others, for example, and are subjected to multiple regression analysis, have excluded certain critical data. In generating alternative hypotheses, it follows that to criticise what may have been excluded, in analysing the association of one variable with another, is independent of the criticism of false assumptions in the 'association ≡ causation' model that is characteristic of previous research designs. Clegg supports his impressive analysis by investigating fourteen separate hypotheses as part of an empirical study of one-in-three of the blue-collar workers in an engineering plant in Northern England of approximately 2,500 employees, from which 406 sets of data, or a seventy-five per cent response-rate, were obtained. The study will not be considered in detail, except to draw attention to the conclusion that the findings

> "suggest that our understanding of the psychology of....turnover will be promoted by consideration of the processes by which different people are pulled into and pushed out of organisations, paying particular regard to the role of individual needs and values and their relationship with age; socialization at work; the role of sanctions; and sequences of self-perceptions and behaviours".

In short, Clegg's analysis of the Turnover process comes closest to complementing the Flowers and Hughes' (ibid) 'inertia' model of Job Tenure than any earlier research, other than the Tavistock Institute study of Labour Turnover, which was carried out nearly forty years ago, but has tended to be overlooked since, probably because greater attention has been paid to their more influential Open Systems research that was carried out at the same time. All three approaches allow (i) the maximum number of variables to be included, reducing the possibility that critical data has been excluded and (ii) an 'association' hypothesis to be developed which is compatible with the

systems approach because it assumes that there is interdependency between the variables.

3.3. THE PROCESS OF LABOUR TURNOVER

3.3.1. The Tavistock Institute Approach

Instead of assuming that Labour Turnover is merely the aggregate of many individual decisions, Rice, Hill and Trist (1950) adopt a Systems view (ie. a Socio-Technical systems approach) towards this phenomenon in the first phase of the Glacier metal Project; defining Turnover as: "the process by which a factory obtains entrants and discards leavers". Rice and Trist (1952), were able to demonstrate in subsequent research that this process was "a self-regulating mechanism, in that a period of redundancy was preceded and followed by a tendency for entrants to remain longer in the factory than would have been expected had the process remained absolutely constant". Furthermore, although outside stimuli caused variations in departure rates, "the factory tended first to maintain, and then to re-establish the steady state". This outcome occurred because

> "The development of the governing system gave rise to conflict between the governing system itself and the production system... (and)...members of the production system resisted changes introduced by the governing system...(nevertheless)...measures introduced by the governing system had the effect of reducing the range of differences between the labour turnovers of four departments of the factory, while allowing the departments to differ from each other....and from the pattern of change for the factory as a whole...(so that when)...two departments in the factory were examined in which the change of departmental labour turnover deviated from the...factory as a whole...it was shown that (in one department) the change in departmental labour turnover was consistent with the change in departmental structure...(whereas, in the other department)...the lack of change in departmental labour turnover was consistent with the persistence of departmental structure".

There are two reasons why the Tavistock Institute findings are relevant to this research: Firstly, their 'steady state' model, which was introduced to investigate the impact of staff departuses on the behaviour of those who remained in employment, anticipated the similar

Flowers and Hughes (ibid) 'inertia' model by nearly thirty years, but also uses it more effectively by simultaneously studying both Job Tenure and Labour Turnover as processes. Secondly, their specific analysis of the Turnover process identifies a dynamic relationship between this phenomenon and changes in the organisation's structures. Although they did not complete detailed Communication studies during 1950-1952, their 'before' and 'after' analyses of formal and informal employee resistance to the introduction of management changes in departmental structures and work routines also anticipates the concepts of 'Prescribed' and 'Emergent' Communication Networks, which were discussed in the previous chapter.

3.3.2. The Price (ibid) Study of Turnover

Probably the most comprehensive investigation of Turnover from a social psychological/sociological standpoint, which pays particular attention to Communication activities, is the one carried out by Price, who acknowledges his indebtedness to the earlier Tavistock studies by including an amended version of their definition of Turnover, "Turnover is the degree of individual movement across the membership boundary of a social system". Price's emphasis on individuals should be noted: "The movement of individuals is the concern of this book" and larger units of people, such as groups, departments or organisations are excluded. It is a useful analysis, however, if only because it is the only model in the literature which incorporates Communication concepts as determinants of the Turnover process.

The Price model, which shows the relationships between the determinants, intervening variables and Turnover, is presented as Figure 3.1 from which it can be seen that there are five determinants and two intervening variables which have an impact on Turnover. The five determinants; namely, Pay, Integration, Centralisation, Instrumental Communication, and Formal Communication; and the two intervening variables; namely, Satisfaction and Opportunity, are considered below, as follows:

(i) Pay

Price advances the proposition that: "Successively higher amounts of pay will probably produce successively lower amounts of turnover". He cites eight codifications and three reviews, drawn from the field of psychological research, which support the proposed negative causal relationship between Pay and Turnover; and he also refers to an additional eleven empirical studies which support the idea that increases in Pay produce reductions in Turnover.

The importance of 'Pay', or 'Salary', is widely disputed in the Turnover literature. Muchinsky and Tuttle (ibid) do not discuss Pay in detail and the reader is never sure whether it is to be regarded as an 'intervening' variable. Porter and Steers (ibid) relegate their discussion of Pay under the broader concept of 'Met Expectations', before concluding that "when an employee's prior expectations are met on the job, employees are less likely to quit". Conversely, Frederico et al (1976) conclude that differences between the perceived and the actual salary are the best single predictor of Turnover. Goldthorpe et al (1968) are more restrained in their conclusions, however, arguing that Pay is a critical variable in the work situation, with a corresponding impact on Turnover, job retention and motivation, yet they confine their analysis mainly to blue-collar workers in a specific manufacturing industry and caution against the indiscriminate application of their findings to higher status employees in other work situations. Since Price (ibid) omits these contending arguments, the more cautious position of Goldthorpe et al (ibid) will be adopted in the proposed research, if only because Mars, Bryant and Mitchell (1979) and Henderson (1965) refer to the difficulties of obtaining precise details of the gross earnings of staff employed in the Hotel and Catering industry, because large 'service charges' and other undeclared gratuities are earned by some staff, whereas others only receive a basic rate of pay.

(ii) Integration

Price expounds the proposition that: "Successively higher amounts of integration will probably produce lower amounts of turnover", when integration is defined as "the extent of participation in primary and/or quasi-primary relationships" (Blau, ibid). The distinction between primary and secondary relationships is basic to the concept of Integration, viz. a relationship is "Primary" to the degree that it is "diffuse, emotionally involved, biased, and governed by ascribed criteria", whereas a relationship is "Secondary" to the extent that it is "specific, emotionally neutral, impartial, and focuses on achieved criteria" (Price, ibid). Primary relationships usually exist between "close friends", whereas a formal 'superior/subordinate' relationship is typical of the Secondary relationship in most organisations. The 'quasi' prefix in the definition of Integration refers to the "close friend" type of relationship, rather than the more commonly quoted example of the family in a rural area, because the two are not alike and the former appears to be "located approximately midway between the extreme primary and the extreme secondary relationships".

(iii) Centralisation

Price expounds the proposition that: "Succcessively higher amounts of centralisation will probably produce successively higher amounts of turnover". Centralisation, like participation, is concerned with "the concentration of power" and Price indicates two polar extremes, viz. "In an organisation the maximum degree of centralisation would occur if all the power were exercised by a single individual; conversely, the minimum degree of centralisation would exist if all the power were exercised equally by all members of an organisation".

Nine codifications, two reviews and one empirical study are cited by Price in support of the Centralisation proposition, which is based on the assumption that some degree of participation in decision making is an attractive outcome to the members of an organisation.

Price's reluctance to discuss organisational structures in more detail is understandable, in view of his earlier declaration that his central concern would focus on "the movement of individuals". Nevertheless it should not be overlooked that his description of the concepts of 'Integration' and 'Centralisation' so closely resembles both the Dahrendorf (ibid) and Burns and Stalker (ibid) explications of the Durkheimian concepts of 'Organic Solidarity' and 'Mechanical Solidarity', as discussed under Section 2.4, that it is hard to understand why separate terms had to be introduced which are merely synonyms of the more widely known Burns and Stalker ideal-typical forms of Mechanistic and Organic structures.

(iv) Communication

Price presents two propositions which are based on a distinction being made betweeen 'Formal' and 'Instrumental' communication, as follows:

"Successively higher amounts of instrumental communication will probably produce successively lower amounts of turnover"; and

"Successively higher amounts of formal communication will probably produce successively lower amounts of turnover".

Price (ibid) defines Communication as "the degree to which information is transmitted among the members of a social system"; and supports his definition with examples of both 'Formal' and 'Informal' communication, as well as distinguishing between 'Instrumental' and 'Expressive' communication. Thus, the Instrumental form is defined as "the transmission of information directly related to role performance", whereas the Expressive form is defined as "information not directly related to role performance" and "includes the vast amount of gossip that exists within an organisation". Formal communication is defined as "officially transmitted information", whereas "the grapevine of an organisation" is given as an example of Informal communication. It follows that "Instrumental communication is typically Formal, whereas

Expressive is usually Informal". Formal and instrumental communication would be characteristics of Prescribed Communication Networks, as defined by Tichy and Fombrun (ibid), whereas Expressive and Informal Communication would be typical of Emergent Networks, as discussed in the previous chapter. Additionally, "there is no overlap between Integration and Communication because the former involves participation in primary and quasi-primary groups which always transmit information informally to their members".

Four codifications, four reviews and six empirical studies are cited by Price which confirm the two Communication propositions. Finally, Price bases his propositions on the assumption that the "receipt of information is an attractive outcome to the members of an organisation", although he later accepts that "the members may differ in the extent to which the receipt of information is an attractive outcome".

Where these differences exist, they should be revealed by analysis of the different Prescribed and Emergent Communication Networks of the various members of an organisation.

(v) Intervening Variables

These include 'satisfaction', which is defined in an identical way to the 'Attitudinal' concept referred to under Section 3.2.6, and 'Opportunity' which, according to Hickson et al (1971), is "the availability of alternative roles in the environment". In work organisations, these roles are typically defined in terms of other jobs, which are usually discussed under 'opportunity structure' and 'supply-demand' theory in economics.

3.3.3. Amended Version of the Price Model of Turnover

Although Price specifically focuses on the study of Turnover from the individual standpoint, there is something inconsistent about the way that 'organisational' concepts such as Integration, Centralisation and

Formal and Instrumental Communication are discussed alongside more obvious individually-initiated concepts such as Informal and Expressive Communication, without the possibility of successive levels of analysis (ie. group, clique, network, system, etc.) being included in the model. Amendments are necessary, if only because each of these concepts is included in the Burns and Stalker (ibid) analysis of organisation structures, which was discussed in Section 2.4, and Tichy and Fombrun (ibid) have argued that these ideal-typical forms will be characterised by Prescribed and Emergent Communication networks, whereas Fombrun has since related the latter analysis to the concept of Organisational Governance.

Furthermore, although Price incorporates the possibility of individuals taking the opportunity to leave (or remain with) an organisation, which he classifies as a dependent variable, the possibility that separations might be initiated by another member (ie. a manager) is excluded, which would appear to be a naive assumption, to say the least. Both possibilities; namely, 'Termination' and 'Dismissal' are included in the related Bluedorn (1978) taxonomy of Turnover, presented as Figure 3.2, which is discussed below.

Price's model, then, is unsatisfactory, not because of what is included as for what has been left out, and an amended version is presented as Figure 3.3, in which Turnover can be analysed from either the Individual, Categorical, (ie. group, department, job classification, etc., or Holistic (ie. organisation, network, system) standpoint. This model assumes an Open Systems perspective and, by including Job Tenure as well, is compatible with the Rice et al's definition of Turnover as "a self-regulating process...by which (a collectivity) obtains entrants and discards leavers".

By introducing the concept of "process", it becomes necessary to carry out replicated studies which investigate Turnover at a minimum of two

intervals of time, to ensure that any hypotheses relating detailed studies of members to summative studies of sets of individuals are tested and empirically criticised, to achieve the maximum depth and breath of analysis. Rogers and Kincaid (ibid) propose a suitable approach, developed by Cattell (1952), which is critically examined below.

3.3.4. The Cattell Data Cube

Cattell (1952) has argued persuasively that any social science analysis of human behaviour should include three main types of data, as follows, when applied to the proposed field study:

(i) The units of analysis (ie. individuals, or their relationships, such as connectedness measures, etc.).

(ii) Variables (ie. attributes of these relationships, such as age, sex, labour turnover, etc.).

(iii) Time

The original Cattell (op cit) model is presented as Figure 3.4, and consists of Individuals, Variables and Occasions. He argued that R-type factor analysis, as well as the usual forms of analysis of variance and multiple correlation, should begin on the Variables axis and sum over Individuals, whereas Q-type analysis would begin on the Individuals axis and sum over Variables.

Although research-design is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, it should be noted that the Cattell type of analysis will be adopted in the proposed field study, despite Harré's (1979) criticism of naive uses of this approach which do not clearly satisfy the separate requirements of 'extensive' and 'intensive' research designs. Briefly, he argues that "Intension varies inversely as Extension", so that the more properties that are included in the definition of a typical member of a class, the fewer individuals are likely to be found exhibiting those properties; that is, the smaller the class extension.

The solution which Harré proposes is to reconcile the Extensive design with the Intensive design through "joint use", by examining all (or as near to all, as is practicable) the members of a class, rather than some available sub-set which is thought to be a representative sample. Examination of each member would endeavour to discover all, or as many as are practicable, of the properties that "a typical member" has.

As far as the proposed field study is concerned, it is contended that these requirements can be met by, firstly, interviewing as near to all the members in the focal organisations as is practicable and, without which, Communication Network analyses could not be carried out effectively. Secondly, detailed demographic data will also be collected on each respondent, in an endeavour to obtain as many of the properties of the typical member as is practicable. Thirdly, detailed information on actual Labour Turnover and likely Job Tenure (through the personal interviews with each member) will also be collected.

3.4. A TAXONOMY OF TURNOVER

One outcome of the Tavistock Institute's re-definition of Turnover in systemic terms, as a process of gaining newcomers and discarding leavers, was the influence it had on the measurement of Turnover, as suggested by the United States Bureau of Labour Statistics (1966), which led to those individuals who joined an organisation being classified as "Accessions", in contrast to those individuals who severed their membership ties being classified as "Separations". The conceptualisation of Turnover as a process of movement across an organisation's membership boundary, ie. members may either be 'in' or 'out', led the Bureau (op cit) to suggest that movements initiated by forces other than the member should be called 'Involuntary' movements, whereas those initiated by the members should be called 'Voluntary' movements.

Bluedorn (ibid) utilised these dimensions of Turnover to construct a Taxonomy of Turnover which is based on the cross-classification of
(a) the direction of movement across the organisation's boundary; and
(b) whether the movement is initiated by the member or not.
A model of this Taxonomy of Turnover is presented as Figure 3.2.

Four types of Turnover may therefore be distinguished; namely, Voluntary Separations, Voluntary Accessions, Involuntary Accessions and Involuntary Separations; of which the following examples are provided:

(i)	Voluntary Separations:	Non-statutory retirement, Quitting a Job, Suicide.
(ii)	Voluntary Accessions:	Joining a Church, a Political Party. Accepting a Job Offer.
(iii)	Involuntary Accessions:	Conscription into the Armed Services, Imprisonment, Compulsory Education.
(iv)	Involuntary Separations:	Dismissal of an employee, Statutory retirement, Death other than by suicide.

As far as Turnover research is concerned, Bluedorn notes that a great deal of research

> "which utilises turnover as the dependent variable is concerned with what have been identified in the Taxonomy as voluntary separations...the methodology employed often fails to distinguish voluntary from involuntary separations. Consequently, both kinds of separations are dealt with simultaneously as if they were a single phenomenon".

An amended version of the above Taxonomy has been developed by Wasmuth and Davis (1983) and used to carry out empirical research in the Hotel industry. This research is discussed in more detail in Chapter Eight.

3.5. SUMMARY

Over 2,500 papers on Labour Turnover have been published since 1912, a total that is many times larger than the number of papers describing Job Retention studies in work organisations. This preference is probably due to the greater difficulty involved in predicting Job Retention rates accurately, than in calculating Labour Turnover, a posteriori, from a precise analysis of 'exit interview' data. The issue is also complicated, in terms of public policy, by a tendency to link Labour Turnover with the politically sensitive issues of 'Recession' and 'Unemployment', which implies that government agencies, employers, trades unions, etc., are likely to take a direct interest in the phenomenon. Additionally, as Flowers and Hughes (ibid) point out, managers tend to adopt the view, without supportive evidence, that the more miserable workers move off and more satisfied staff stay put, from which it is often concluded that low Labour Turnover and high Productivity are positively connected.

Precisely why individuals decide to leave or continue to participate as employees in organisations is a deeply complicated matter that cannot be understood merely by focusing on those who depart during a given period. The behaviour of those who remain is equally important because, for most participants, it probably reflects the instrumental reasons, common values and affective ties, through which they identify themselves with the other members and form a commitment to the goals of the collectivity. It has already been stated in the previous chapter that this social behaviour is best understood if the organisation is regarded as an Open System and the various information flows between the members are analysed as Communication networks. It has since been argued above that, as a result of the influential Tavistock studies, a systemic perspective also provides a more flexible and comprehensive explanation of the acquisition, retention and departure of the members of an organisation than any number of causal inference studies of Labour Turnover. With this conclusion in mind, the Price (ibid) model of Labour Turnover has been amended and

reconciled with the 'Organisational Communication' model provided in the previous chapter, which relates Job Classifications to the ideal forms of Mechanistic/Organic structures and to Prescribed/Emergent Communication Networks. As a result, it should now be possible to formulate hypotheses which allow reliable distinctions to be made between the involvement of participants in different Communication Networks and other variables, such as their job classification, length of employment, etc., before carrying out comparative analysis on replicated data from different organisations.

NOTE

1. Modern Social Theory, Percy Cohen, Heinemann, London, 1968, pp.130.

CHAPTER 4 : THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

"The insidious thing about the causal point of view is that it leads us to say: 'Of course, it had to happen like that!' Whereas we ought to think: it may have happened like that - and also in other ways".

Wittgenstein, L. (Note 1)

INTRODUCTION

According to Weick (ibid), the major drawback which has to be overcome before Organisational Communication can ever achieve the widespread recognition accorded to Organisational Behaviour, since the findings of the Hawthorne Studies were published, is the absence of a carefully designed 'prototype' field study. Porter and Roberts (ibid) share a similar concern and direct their severest criticism at the methodological considerations in the majority of communication field studies which were carried out prior to 1976. Nevertheless, their otherwise rigorous criticism is undermined by a failure to identify a more serious shortcoming in the design of these earlier field studies; namely, that the Informational model of Communication is invariably subsumed, which leads to causal relationships being inferred between 'sources', ie. the members who were interviewed, and the 'receivers', who were not; and on the few occasions that data was gathered on other organisational phenomena, causal relationships were also inferred between the 'sources' and these other variables.

Although this field study resembles earlier research by focusing on the "relationships between communication patterns and behaviours and other organisational phenomena", the main difference in the research design is the recognition that the relationships between communication transactions and other variables may be of more than one logical type. Transactions may therefore influence, or be influenced by, other variables, or be associated with them in terms of yet more factors. In considering these possibilities, the advantages of an Open Systems theory perspective need to be evaluated, because this should permit relevant hypotheses to be formulated and 'operationalised' for testing.

Various ways of strengthening the research design would also need to be considered by, for example, the use of other methods of verifying communication transactions between participants, as well as collecting data on possible intervening variables. As an important objective of the proposed field study is to investigate the relationship between communication variables and Labour Turnover, replication procedures would need to be introduced so that relevant data could be analysed between a minimum of two time frames, using a factor-analysis technique based on the Cattell (1952) 'data cube' procedure, which has since been widely used in social science research. Alternative measures of Labour Turnover would also need to be considered as a means of reinforcing the research design, because the intention is to replicate the Wasmuth and Davis (ibid) study of Labour Turnover in hotels, but a detailed account of their methodology and findings would also need to be provided; and it is thought that this whole topic should be discussed separately and then linked to the communication analyses in a later chapter.

4.1. REVIEW OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Porter and Roberts (ibid) make the following criticisms of the main communication field studies that were published prior to 1976:

(a) Only a quite limited variety of types of organisations have been sampled. Of the twenty-two studies investigated, all but five studies were carried out in manufacturing, industrial and business firms; the remainder were public sector institutions, such as government agencies and hospitals.

(b) Research to date has generally not contributed to our understanding of how the communication process functions in relation to specified organisational conditions. That is to say, roughly half of the studies drew samples of subjects from only a single organisation and, even of the remainder that drew samples from several organisations, the analyses did not utilise comparisons across organisations.

(c) Communication researchers have concentrated their attention on the more verbally skilled and highy educated parts of the labour force, but have tended to ignore the vast bulk of employees in non-managerial and non-professional jobs. Given this state of affairs, extreme caution is urged in generalising the findings of the studies as a whole. Nineteen of the studies focused on, or included, managers or professions and only three studies utilised rank and file workers, whereas four of the studies included clerical staff. Thus, there is no single study which focuses on a representative sample of all the participants in an organisation.

(d) Most of the studies collected data from relatively small samples and only six of the studies involved more than 100 respondents. In fact, our entire knowledge about how employees behave in terms of communicating in organisational settings up to 1976 is based on a total of fewer than 1,500 individuals!

(e) The majority of the studies reported in the literature are subject to the possibility of contamination of the results because only intra-subject, rather than inter-subject, variations contributed to any comparisons that were made. In short, there were no checks or comparisons possible between two independent sources (ie. sets of respondents) with respect to a given finding.

(f) Only five of the studies stated explicit hypotheses in advance of data collection and the remainder can be regarded primarily as "exploratory" studies.

(g) So far, in most field studies, only quite limited samples of employees in organisations have provided data and this has severely limited the generalisations that can be made, even about a single organisation, and has prevented many useful and potentially significant inter-organisational comparisons.

The Tichy and Fombrun (ibid) reworking of the Payne and Pheysey (ibid) study, described in Chapter 2, is yet another example of this flawed approach which has appeared since the Porter and Roberts critique was published. Prior to this example, the typical field study involved only a scattering of one or two employees of several different units, or only the members of a single unit.

(h) Although six different types of data collection were identified across the twenty-two studies, only a single method was used in almost every study, which begs questions about how substantial these findings are and how valid the accompanying generalisations.

(i) In virtually none of the field studies has a truely longitudinal research design been used to collect data relevant to communication. That is to say, most of the communication field studies have been cross-sectional in nature and only three of the twenty-two "have collected data from a sample of subjects across a period of time, thus constituting a type of longitudinal study". ie. Data was typically collected after intervals of about two or three weeks, and was rarely analysed with reference to changes across time.

(j) Conspicuously missing in almost all of the research are data concerning relationships between communication patterns and behaviours and other organisational phenomena.

Porter and Roberts recommend that the following main methodological improvements should be included in future studies:

1. More inclusive and representative samples from organisations.
2. Simultaneous use of multiple methods of data collection.

3. Longitudinal studies, rather than basing research designs on a 'single shot' collection of data.

4. Relation of communication variables to other types of variables.

The above advice of Porter and Roberts will be followed closely and the field study, which appears to be the first to focus on the hotel industry, will make comparisons across organisations, by including large samples of over 100 respondents in each case from two similar hotels, in which staff from all departments, and not just members of management, will be represented. Explicit hypotheses, which are discussed below, will be stated in advance so that these can be operationalised by carrying out a replicated study of the relationships between communication data and other organisational phenomena, including Labour Turnover.

4.2. THE FORMULATION OF HYPOTHESES

Before the proposed field study can be undertaken, hypotheses need to be formulated which relate the earlier response to the methodological recommendations of Porter and Roberts (ibid) to the more abstract arguments set out above in favour of the Systems paradigm. This reconciliation can best be achieved by posing the following 'research questions':

If, following Katz and Kahn, para 2.3.1 (i), organisations are distinguishable from and dependent on the environment because their members carry out transactions, by importing, transforming and returning information, goods and services, etc., across 'boundaries' which are defined in terms of communication flows, then

(i) Does access to the internal and external networks vary with status in different organisations?

(ii) How does status influence the connectedness between members in the prescribed and emergent communication networks in different organisations?

(iii) Is the connectedness between members of various communication networks in different organisations similar in sub-systems using the same technologies?

(iv) What influence do individual demographic characteristics, such as age, sex, race, educational background, etc., have on the communication networks in different organisations; and how are these relationships modified by formal or informal 'group' characteristics, such as Job Classification or Clique membership?

(v) What influence does the connectedness between the members of communication networks in different organisations have on factors such as Job Tenure and Labour Turnover?

(vi) Are these similarities or differences maintained over time in different organisations, as a result of the above investigations being replicated?

4.2.1. Hypotheses

1. Connectedness will be positively related to status.

   (ie. when Connectedness is expressed as Dyadic links and Status as an individual's Job Classification).

2. Connectedness will be positively related to Technology in Prescribed Networks.

3. Connectedness will be positively related to an individual's length of employment.

4. Length of employment will be inversely related to Labour Turnover.

5. Connectedness will be inversely related to Labour Turnover.

A model of these hypotheses is presented as Figure 4.1 in which the numbers shown refer to the above order of hypotheses. The 'plus' signs refer to positive association, the 'minus' signs to inverse

association and, in the case of Hypothesis 2, no direction is indicated. Finally, the origin of the model may be found in the amended version of the Price model of Labour Turnover, presented as Figure 3.3.

4.2.2. Rationale for the Hypotheses

(i) Hypothesis 1: is derived from the Burns (1967) argument, discussed under Section 2.4, in favour of a "comprehensive classificatory system" within which dynamic higher-to-lower levels of generality may be analysed, ranging from the relationship of the organisation as a system with its environment, down to the involvement of individual members and their (formal and informal) behaviour. In terms of Communication Network Analysis, the hypothesis is also derived directly from the Burt (ibid) 'Relational/Positional' and the Fombrun (ibid) 'Attributive/Transactional' typologies which were discussed under Section 2.6.

(ii) Hypothesis 2: is derived from the Burns and Stalker (ibid) 'mechanistic-organic' structures typology which was presented as Figure 2.3 and, in particular, their conclusion, which Handy (ibid) also notes to, that changes in the systems in 'mechanistic' and 'organic' structures will be affected by the rate of technical or market change. Perrow (ibid) argues that Technology should be regarded as the prime determinant of organisational structure; and will affect the relationship between patterns of Prescribed Communication and the Organisational Structure (ie. ref. 2.6.4), which suggests, according to Roberts et al (page 39) the above "testable hypothesis".

(iii) Hypothesis 3: is derived from the Cohen (ibid) analysis in the Introduction to Chapter 3 that, amongst other factors, the continued participation of individuals in systems may be due to "involvement in a network of social relations, the

need for a familiar culture or sub-culture, and the need for strong and familiar social ties". In terms of the literature dealing more directly with Job Tenure, the hypothesis is also derived from the 'Inertia' model of Tenure, advanced in Systems terms as part of the Tavistock Institute Glacier Metal Studies and, more recently, by Flowers and Hughes (ibid). These analyses are discussed in Sections 3.1 and 3.3.

(iv) Hypothesis 4: is essentially a logical relationship which is widely assumed in the Labour Turnover literature, although whether the 'reasons' are inversely related has been questioned by Flowers and Hughes (ibid).

(v) Hypothesis 5: is also derived from the Tavistock research and its application by Price in his model of Turnover, discussed in Section 3.3.2, in which he focuses on the movement of individuals and perceives Turnover as "the degree of individual movement across the membership boundary of a social system" when the latter is defined in terms of the concepts of Integration, Instrumental Communication, Formal Communication and Centralisation.

4.3. THE RESEARCH METHOD

Introduction:

The replicated field study was carried out in two hotels belonging to the same company between 1982 and 1984. Selected 'follow-up' enquiries were also made during 1985 and 1986 when the 'surviving' opinion-leaders and other members of management were also interviewed. As details of the holding company and the two focal hotels are provided in Chapter 5, suffice it to mention here that the 'Coastal' and the 'London' hotels are four-star, medium-sized properties with 180 bedrooms in the Coastal and 220 bedrooms, respectively. The Coastal hotel employed between 128 and 132 full-time staff the London hotel between 134 and 135 full-time staff between 1982 and 1984; and

the staff establishments remained within these ranges in both hotels during 1985. A grand total of 451 respondents were interviewed during the study. At the Coastal hotel, this comprised 114 (89 per cent) and 121 (92 per cent) employees, compared with 108 (81 per cent) and 108 (80 per cent) employees in the London hotel during each of the studies. Each of the studies was carried out in the following stages:

(1) The purpose and the method of the research were first explained in detail to the managers and supervisors, attending the monthly Heads of Department meeting, during which all questions were answered, after which the General Manager requested and received an assurance from his staff that the interviewer would be given their full cooperation. A senior member of the Administration staff (viz. the Personnel Manager at the London hotel and the General Manager's Secretary at the Coastal hotel) agreed to act as a coordinator and compile a preliminary interview-schedule with the various departmental heads and supervisors.

(2) A print-out of the current Staff Establishment Sheets, which listed all the staff employed in the hotel, was obtained from the research coordinator, who also provided the first-names of employees and indicated the full-time members of staff.

(3) Each full-time member of staff (ie. Agency and temporary staff were excluded) listed in the Establishment Sheets was allocated a reference-number by the interviewer which remained unchanged for all those employees who were interviewed a second time during the replicated studies. A sequential system of reference numbers ranging from 001 onwards was used, but this was altered slightly in both hotels as a precaution, after the interviewer unwittingly left the 'master sheet' behind in two different departments.

(4) All interviews took place in private, during which their purpose was first explained and the confidential nature of the research was stressed. The respondent was allocated a reference number, and any questions about the research were answered by the interviewer. Each interview consisted of four stages, as follows:

(5) STAGE ONE: Demographic and other details about the respondent's job were requested; respondent's name, job title, sex, age, nationality, length of employment with the company, previous job with the company, length of training provided by the company, and the age at which full-time or continuing education ceased. This data, together with the reference number, was recorded and is presented in Tables: 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4, respectively.

(6) STAGE TWO: Communication data was collected by first taking all respondents through the Staff Establishment Sheets and asking them to nominate the people with whom they engaged in communication either verbally, face-to-face or by telephone, or in writing during the past week. The reference number of each nomination was recorded, after which the following five questions were asked in all cases. This research instrument is based on the Matrix manipulation method of Jacobson and Seashore (1951) which is incorporated in the instrument devised by Tichy et al (ibid) and introduced into the Fombrun Typology of Network strategies, which was discussed in Chapter 2.6.

(i) What position does this person hold in the hotel?

Three answers were provided: 'Lower Level', 'Same Level', or 'Higher Level', of which only one could be selected.

(ii) How often do you communicate with this person?

Four answers were possible: 'More than once a day', 'Daily', 'Several times per week' and 'Weekly', of which only one could be selected.

(iii) What is the usual subject matter of your communication?

Four answers were possible: 'Exchange of Information or Ideas' 'Exchange of Goods', 'Decisions', 'Friendship and Affection', of which one or more could be selected.

(iv) How important is the communication to you?

Five answers were possible: 'Crucial', 'Great', 'Some', 'Little', or 'None', of which only one could be selected.

(v) How satisfied are you with this communication?

Five answers were possible: 'Very Satisfied', 'Satisfied', 'Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied', 'Dissatisfied', or 'Very Dissatisfied', of which only one could be selected.

All replies were recorded with a tick (√) and a copy of this research instrument is presented as Figure 4.2.

(7) STAGE THREE: The job classification Typology described in Section 2.6.5 was introduced by asking the respondents four questions about their jobs, (and their replies) were later confirmed in discussions with the research coordinators in each hotel:

(1) Do you normally work alone or as a member of a team or group?

(2) Do you enter into frequent, face-to-face communication with guests in the hotel?

(3) Do you enter into frequent communication with Head Office staff, or staff working in other hotels belonging to the

company, either face-to-face, or indirectly, such as by telex, telephone, computer, letter, memoranda, reports, etc.?

(4) Do you enter into frequent communication with 'third parties', such as suppliers, who do not work for your company, on matters related to your job in the hotel?

(8) STAGE FOUR: All interviews were concluded with an informal conversation about the nature of the respondent's job, with particular reference to whether the respondent normally worked alone or in a group and whether this work brought the respondent into contact with guests, Head Office staff or third parties outside the hotel, such as suppliers or government agencies; his/her aspirations, whether or not these could be met by the respondent's present job, and whether the respondent saw him/herself continuing to work in the hotel in six to twelve months time. This informal part of the interview was frequently extended by respondents, particularly members of management, who mostly took the opportunity to talk in detail about their career aspirations as well as comment, always in confidence and sometimes critically, on colleagues or subordinates or, on the way that the hotel was currently performing, or being managed. Given the confidential nature of these disclosures, only a broad synopsis of these more critical viewpoints is presented in Chapter 7.

4.4. THE TWO PILOT RUNS

Before the communication studies were undertaken in the two focal hotels, two pilot runs were carried out during November, 1982, in the Business Studies Department at the Polytechnic where the interviewer is still employed. The main objective of these runs was to test the Research Instrument described above, to ensure that the Interview requirements and the questions were comprehensible and free of

ambiguity. Two pilot runs were completed because there were first-year students on two Business Studies courses who were in the same age range (ie. between eighteen and twenty-one years) and had been attending their respective courses at the Polytechnic for the same period; namely, four to five weeks. During the first week at the Polytechnic, both groups had participated in three days of 'Course Induction' activities, to familiarise the students with all aspects of their new environment in an informal manner. The two groups were as follows:

(i) B.A.(Honours) Business Studies Sandwich Course: Year One Entrants.

(ii) Higher National Diploma in Business Studies: Year One Entrants.

The Year One Degree group consisted of twenty-four students, four of whom were absent when the pilot run was carried out and were divided into two seminar groups of twelve students, whereas the Higher National Diploma group consisted of thirty students, divided into three seminar groups of ten, nine and eleven students, respectively, four of whom were absent when the pilot run was conducted.

The purpose of the research was explained and preceded a discussion which examined ways that the questions might be misconstrued but, after which, it was generally agreed that the questions were clear, simple and easy to answer. A class-list containing coded reference numbers against names was then circulated and the students were asked to write down the reference numbers of all the students on the list with whom they had communicated outside of the Polytechnic classes during that week, as well as the frequency, and the degree of satisfaction/dissatisfaction, of these communication exchanges.

4.5. ALTERNATIVE OBSERVATIONAL METHODS EMPLOYED

Nachmias and Nachmias (1981) indicate that the following three observational roles can be adopted in the preparatory stage leading up to proposed research and during the actual field studies.

4.5.1. The Role of the Complete Participant

The original objective of the research project was to carry out the replicated communication and related studies in three hotels belonging to different companies in the same geographical area on the South-West coast of England but this plan had to be altered when one of the companies decided to withdraw and the other was considered unsuitable for the field studies, because of the arbitrary manner in which over one-third of the staff were dismissed at less than twenty-four hours notice by the General Manager, (ruining the Communication Audit which was more than half-completed at the time!)

In the company that decided not to continue with the project, this decision was taken by the General Manager after three months of involvement, when permission had previously been given for the writer to work as an unpaid assistant alongside full-time employees in the Restaurant, Kitchen, Bar, Room Service, House-keeping, Laundry, Reception and Telephone departments, to gain sixteen days first-hand experience of the different demands and skill requirements of these various jobs. A minimum of one and a maximum of three working days (ie. in the restaurant because of staff shortages) were spent in each department, by making use of a weekly 'Research Day' allocation over the three month period.

This 'work experience' was of considerable assistance in understanding the different working environments of the two focal hotels, which were used in the field study, but the temptation has to be resisted of attaching too much importance to this participatory role for the following reasons:

(1) The complete role of the observer was never made clear to the workforce beforehand, at the request of the General and the Personnel Manager, and a subsequent change in the role of the participant would have constituted an invasion of privacy, and had the field study proceeded in this hotel, a situation might

have arisen not unlike that described by Erikson (1967), in which:

"a stranger who pretends to be something else can disturb others by failing to understand the conditions of intimacy that prevail in the group he has tried to invade".

(2) On-the-spot recording was impracticable and had to be postponed until later when the probability of selective bias, omissions and distortions would be greater and, as Sullivan et al (1958) points out, the disguised observer is "never certain whether his reports (are) adequate or whether he (is) 'getting across' what he (is) observing".

That said, invaluable insights were gained into various informal ways in which different workers reorganised their jobs to suit their own needs and those of colleagues, on the one hand, and still meet the demands of management on the other. Similar examples of these 'unauthorised' work practices were also observed in the two focal hotels and these will therefore be discussed in Chapter 7.

4.5.2. The Role of the Participant-as-Observer

In view of the methodological limitations associated with the role of the Complete Participant, a more practical role of the Participant-as-Observer was considered during the field studies carried out in the two focal hotels. This approach would have required the observer to infiltrate the organisation in an assumed working-role, with the collusion of management, so that unsuspecting employees could be studied in their working environment. Ethical issues aside, this option would have been impracticable, so the possibility of role-pretending was excluded by carefully explaining the precise purpose of the research to all respondents and other interested members of the hotel company at Head Office, as well as the senior management and departmental heads in the two hotels, in an attempt to gain their cooperation. On the other hand, although the hotel management granted

access to every work section it was often impossible to carry out the role of 'participant' in practice, either for want of the requisite knowledge and skills, or because of the demands of recording data rapidly without disrupting the normal working arrangements in the hotel. Nevertheless, the researcher did assist with simple cleaning, lifting tasks, as well as with bed-making and folding linen, etc., either before or during the non-recording part of all the interviews with chambermaids, laundry staff, kitchen stewards, leisure attendants and porters. This assistance was always accepted graciously by the staff, many of whom worked alone, and who all seemed to welcome the opportunity of talking about their jobs with an interested 'outsider' in private.

It was therefore not possible to employ an identical observational method during every interview and the role of Observer-as-(occasional) Participant came closest to describing the activities which accompanied the data-gathering parts of the field study. The data-gathering aspects of the research are discussed below, but notes were also kept of the main points that emerged from the 'informal discussion' during each interview and this aspect of the research is referred to in Chapter 7.

4.5.3. The Role of Observer-as-Participant and Consultant

An appreciable shift in the researcher's role occurred between the completion of the first communication in 1983, and the replication studies which took place during 1984. The change arose because of the interest shown in the research by both General Managers and members of the Business Planning Committee, which met monthly at Head Office and was chaired by the vice-president of the company.

Although findings were, at best, inferential at this stage, an interim report was apparently well received. Staff, who were independently interviewed by the new Group Personnel General Manager reputedly appreciated the fact that confidentiality had not been broken and had

welcomed the opportunity of discussing different aspects of their work with the researcher in private. The outcome of these enquiries was that the researcher was invited to meet the Business Policy Committee in November, 1983, when the following decisions were taken:

(1) Ways of improving communication procedures in both hotels would be investigated separately by the Group Personnel Manager and the two General Managers, in consultation with the researcher.

(2) Reports of inadequate induction and training by lower-status employees would also be investigated, as part of the Manpower Plan that was being prepared for the Committee.

(3) Permission was given for a replication of the field study to be carried out by the writer subject to arrangements being made with the two General Managers.

In conclusion, according to Nachmias and Nachmias (ibid), a Participant-as-Observer "confronts three major problems: establishing relationships with members of the group, finding resourceful and reliable informants, and maintaining the observer-observed relationship". Taking each of these in turn, the problem of establishing relationships with members was resolved by carrying out all interviews in private at the respondent's work station in both hotels.

The problem of finding resourceful and reliable informants was overcome by attempting to interview the full-time staff in both hotels; and the problem of maintaining the appropriate research perspective in terms of the observer-observed relationship was resolved by ensuring that each interview was conducted in the same orderly manner.

4.5.4. Downward Message Transmission

Burns and Stalker's 'mechanistic' model of organisation structure indicates a downward transmission of information from superiors to subordinates. As far as the 'Prescribed' communication network is

concerned, one would expect to observe a chain-like pattern, particularly in the 'Information' and 'Decision' networks. A specific attempt was made to check on the reliability of the data gathered during the communication interviews at one of the focal hotels by conducting a modified version of the Lazarsfield et al (1948) 'Hypodermic Needle' approach to checking on the spread of a known amount of information throughout an organisation. Davis (1953) modified this method in what has come to be known as the ECCO technique. Briefly, this first entailed persuading the General Manager and the Personnel Manager, who attended the meeting, to accept the need for confidentiality about the precise purpose of the proposed exercise, after which the General Manager was asked to release two specific items of information to managers and supervisors attending the Heads of Department meeting, which was to be held on the first afternoon of the field study, with the clear instruction that these should be relayed to other members of staff within the next forty-eight hours. The arrangement was that the researcher would ask all respondents from the following Monday onwards what they knew about these 'messages' before commencing the communication interviews. The two items of information which were relayed at the Heads of Department meeting were, firstly, a brief 'message' about the reason for the researcher's presence in the hotel and, secondly, an informal announcement that the Chief Steward would take charge of the Coffee Shop, which would be confirmed in a memorandum and circulated one week afterwards, when the job transfer would take place.

This inquiry produced remarkable results during the next two days, when twenty-two respondents, including operatives and shift-supervisors who were not at the meeting, displayed detailed knowledge of at least one of the two messages. A more plausible 'explanation' for this behaviour emerged when the researcher visited the enclosed Telephone Section for the first time and discovered that his name had been written in bold print on the V.I.P. Board, below that of a Saudi dignitary who was occupying a suite of private rooms in the hotel. Later that same day, while waiting for a departmental manager to return

to his office for a communication interview, the researcher noticed a memorandum (that included his name in the title), which announced the transfer to the Coffee Shop of the Chief Steward, but also indicated that the researcher would be making enquiries about this staff-change and all members of staff should be informed without delay. The matter was raised with the General Manager on the same evening, who laughed it off as an example of the difference between an 'academic' and a 'business' approach to communication, which he described as follows: "Providing it's within the law and doesn't cost too much, who cares about the method, as long as the message gets through, which even you have to admit actually happened? Anyway, your way of finding out was no better than mine!" When the researcher agreed but added that the exercise would be abandoned, he was offered a drink, a handshake and a spare ticket for the English v Greece football match at Wembley Stadium, which were all accepted, to show that there were no 'ill feelings'.

4.6. TWO METHODS OF IDENTIFYING CLIQUES USING NETWORK ANALYSIS

Because of delays in getting the data analysed using the NEGOPY Communication Network Analysis program, a special suite of FORTRAN programs was written instead, which are presented under Appendix C in Volume Two of the thesis.

The procedures which are common to both the more widely known NEGOPY method and the original FORTRAN method of analysing the communication structure may be summarised as follows:

Firstly, the computation of various indices of communication network structure of the individual, dyadic, clique, or systems, levels, using similar measures to those advocated by Richards and Rice (ibid) are described under para. 4.6.3.

Secondly, the identification of cliques within the system.

Thirdly, the identification of specialised communication roles, such as "liaisons", "opinion leaders" and "isolates" in the communication structure.

Finally, all of the above terms are defined in the Glossary.

4.6.1. The NEGOPY Network Analysis Program

Richards and Rice (1981) describe the NEGOPY program as providing a linkage-based method which has been specifically designed for the analysis of large communication networks. By 'linkage-based', they mean that the program "uses for data a description of the system in terms of pairwise relationships (links) between nodes"; that is to say, the analysis concentrates on dyadic or reciprocated links, as previously described, rather than on the 'one-way' perceived or received links recorded by members. Furthermore, the method provides 'Relational' and 'Positional' analysis, as postulated by Burt (ibid) and summarised under Chapter 3.1 and is discreet, in the sense that "it resulted in a classification of all the nodes in the network into a number of distinct categories, based on patterns of interconnection". The NEGOPY program, which is written in CDC FORTRAN extended language, consists of two parts: the first stage is a heuristic procedure designed to give a broad, but inexact, first approximation of a structural description of the network. This is supplemented by a second stage which refines the description of the network so that it meets the pre-set formal criteria.

Contact was first established with Dr. Richards at Simon Frazer University, Canada, in 1983 and arrangements were made to complete a NEGOPY analysis of the communication data collected in the two hotels, but this plan had to be postponed because the original data sets were entered on the ICL 2960 main-frame computer at Portsmouth Polytechnic before it was discovered some seven months later that the NEGOPY program could only be run on CDC computers, such as IBM or UNIVAC, which were not accessible. A decision was taken to transpose the data on the ICL into a compatible format for analysis on the IBM computer at Simon Frazer University in Canada, but this proved to be an unexpectedly complicated and protracted operation which involved two fruitless attempts to re-order the data on the Portsmouth City Council's IBM computer, then finally on the IBM computer at Southampton

University, before a 'legible' format was finally achieved. This process took another ten months, however, and involved airmailing three apparently illegible 'magtapes' of data to Canada before the problem was resolved. A period of twenty-eight months separated the decision to analyse the network data using the NEGOPY program and the receipt of the first 'run' of output in October, 1986, but by this time, sufficient progress had been made with the original FORTRAN program to feel confident about this form of analysis. The NEGOPY analysis, on the other hand, which runs to over 160 reduced pages of computer print-out, is available for inspection, but is largely unintelligible because, despite further correspondence during 1986, the promised explanatory report was never received.

4.6.2. Other Network Analysis Programs

Several unsuccessful enquiries were also made about alternative network analysis approaches, including the SOCK/COMPLT program, developed by Tichy et al (1973), the CLIQUE program, devised by Alt and Schofield (1975) at the University of Essex, and the CLUSTAN program, which was written by Wishart (1980) at the University of Edinburgh.

4.6.3. The FORTRAN Method of Identifying Cliques

In the original FORTRAN analysis, the same sequential steps which appear in the NEGOPY analysis, as described by Rogers and Kincaid (ibid, pp.165-170), were introduced as follows:

1. The Connectedness of each individual was calculated by expressing the number of dyadic links as a ratio of the maximum number possible, (ie. the total number of participants minus one). This process was repeated in each of the four networks.

2. Individuals were rank-ordered on the basis of these Connectedness ratios, to provide what Rogers and Kincaid call "a convenient 'rough cut' at partitioning a network of individuals into cliques".

3. Individuals were then re-ordered through a second iteration of the data according to (a) the departments where they were employed, or (b) their Job Classifications, into separate 'who-to-whom' matrices, on the basis of the rank-order of their Connectedness ratios.

4. This process was repeated in each of the four networks by allocating a weighting to each individual according to (a) their involvement in one or more of the networks and (b) the frequency of these dyadic links, until a stable situation was obtained after a further four re-orderings of the data. The frequency of these dyadic links was denoted by allocating the following weightings separately in each of these iterations of the data: Weekly = 1; Several Times per Week = 3; Daily = 5; and More than Once per Day = 8.

Individual involvement in a single network had been allocated the following weightings; Perceived link = 1; Dyadic link = 2. In the third iteration of the data, the perceived links were excluded and the Information, Goods and Decision networks were combined to form a 'Prescribed' network, by allocating the following weightings for the dyadic links recorded by individuals in one or more of these networks: One Network = 2; Two Networks = 4; Three Networks = 6. In the fourth re-ordering of the data, the 'Emergent' network was formed by including the Friendship and Affect data in the analysis and by allocating the weighting: Four Networks = 8, to those individuals who had retained the same dyadic links in all of the networks. By the fourth and fifth iterations it was therefore possible to identify the 'Opinion Leaders' who communicated the most frequently in the Prescribed and Emergent networks; and it was also possible to identify the 'Isolates' who communicated the least frequently.

5. In the fifth iteration of the data, cliques were identified in the Prescribed and Emergent networks and, in particular, the 'Dominant

Cliques', were separated by linking those individuals who interacted more frequently with each other than with other members; and whose interconnectedness was maintained in the different networks.

6. It should be noted that data recorded on each individual's perceptions of (a) the hierarchical levels of the other persons with whom transactions were reported (b) the level of satisfaction/dissatisfaction with these transactions, were not included in this analysis for the following reasons: Firstly, in the case of perceived hierarchical levels, this normative data did not agree with that provided in the formal Organisation Charts, referred to in Chapter 6, as many of the supervisors and operatives perceived themselves as being on the same level as some managers and supervisors, respectively. Secondly, the perceived levels of satisfaction/dissatisfaction with other members, in communication terms, were often qualified by additional information being provided during the face-to-face interviews which could not be recorded adequately in the research instrument. Consequently, the decision was taken to carry out a more comprehensive Attitude Survey in both hotels during 1985 but, here again, so many differences in findings were recorded, which were thought to be due to the unavoidable two year gap between the first and the last of these attitude surveys, with accompanying changes in the staff establishments at both hotels, that it was decided to abandon both of these imperfect attempts to record quantitative data using attitude-scales and rely instead on the 'case study' accounts of the respondents' verbal statements of belief or feeling, which were recorded during the face-to-face interviews, and are summarised in Chapter 7. It should be noted, however, that a detailed analysis of the work attitudes of the employees in both hotels was presented in Chapter 9 in the original version of this thesis; and the relevant 226 completed questionnaires have been kept for possible inspection.

In conclusion the output of the original FORTRAN analysis, which is presented as Figures 4.3 to 4.35, inclusive, is broadly in agreement with the Rogers and Kincaid (op cit) conclusion:

> "We find that, on the average, about five, six, or seven iterations (re-orderings) are usually needed to reach a stable communication structure with the NEGOPY procedure when hand methods are used, or four iterations when the computer is utilized".

For the record, the fifth computerised iteration of the data was necessary in this study because of the decision to process the Prescribed and Emergent network data separately. Finally, various measures of Connectedness were calculated and these are presented for easier reference in Tables 9.1 to 9.16, inclusive, alongside the analysis of the various hypotheses which appears in Chapter Nine.

4.7. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The main objective in this chapter has been to present a cogent and rigorous method of investigating successive levels of social complexity in organisations. It is contended that such a study should begin, inductively, with the individual members and proceed, by analysing their perceived communication transactions with others, until the interactions which separate the participants into dyads, cliques, and larger socio-cultural structures, within an organisation, or system, are revealed. Further analysis of these network 'patterns' should indicate the degree to which the communication behaviour of members remains 'prescribed' over time through formal procedures and routines being adopted as a means of dealing with factors related to size or complexity. Yet this analysis should also reveal 'emergent' changes in the patterns of communication patterns in response to changes in the membership of these social structures, due to the departure and arrival of new members, the introduction of new technology, and various other imputs from the environment.

The methodology described in this chapter enables these different communication networks to be identified between the members employed in

the two focal hotels. This was done by establishing how many individual 'perceived' transactions were ratified in four different networks by the links 'received' from other members, so that the 'connectedness' of any participant could be established in terms of these confirmed reciprocated exchanges, and related to other attributes such as Job Classification, sex, age, length of employment, etc. Repeated iteration of the communication data by computer allowed the members who were most actively involved in the prescribed and emergent networks to be identified as the 'opinion leaders', along with the dominant coalitions that these members formed, in contrast to the 'isolates' who were identified as the least involved participants.

Replication of these studies allowed changes in the relationships between individual measures of communication behaviour, data on conceptually relevant demographic variables, and measures of labour turnover and the length of employment, to be analysed, so that the nature and functions of communication on the accession, assimilation and separation processes of individuals in the two focal hotels could also be investigated.

Finally, reference should also be made to two likely and important consequences of this field study; one theoretical and the other more practicable. Firstly, it should be possible to re-evaluate the relationships between communication and organisational theory, in terms of Systems theory. Secondly, it should also be possible to make relevant recommendations about ways of improving the communication processes, induction and training procedures, and reducing the labour turnover in the two hotels.

NOTE

1. Wittgenstein, L. Culture and Value, ed. G.H. Von Wright, translated by Peter Finch, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1980.

PART TWO: DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH SETTING

Chapter Five summarises developments in the British hotel and catering industry up to 1986, before reviewing the main ways that different types of British hotels have re-organised their operations of revenue-earning and support-service departments, and their management structures and 'philosophies', in response to North-American influences since World War Two.

Chapter Six focuses on the parent company and its British operations by relating corporate strategy to the specific procedures which have been introduced to ensure that effective financial control procedures, organisational structures and day-to-day operations are implemented. The impact of strategy on revenue-earning activities, local marketing strategies, and personnel, maintenance, security, administrative and general management practices in the focal hotels is also discussed.

Chapter Seven investigates contextual differences that have been introduced locally and the way that these have affected structural, functional and operational activities in either hotel. Cultural and kinship aspects, along with differences in staff attitudes towards their work situations, recorded during the replicated studies, are also discussed.

CHAPTER 5 : THE ORGANISATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS AND PHILOSOPHIES OF DIFFERENT BRITISH HOTELS

"If there was one thing more than another that annoyed the Grand Babylon - put its back up, so to speak - it was to be compared with, or to be mistaken for, an American hotel. The Grand Babylon was resolutely opposed to American methods of eating, drinking and lodging".

Arnold Bennett (Note 1)

5.1. THE BRITISH HOTEL AND CATERING INDUSTRY

The Hotel and Catering Industry was one of Britain's largest employers and earners of foreign currency up to 1984, when, according to the Hotel and Catering Industry Training Board (HCITB, 1985), over 2.3 million people worked in the industry, which was nearly 11 per cent of an estimated total workforce of 21½ million people. The number of new jobs in the industry increased by 70,000 during the same year when jobs in the service industries as a whole grew by 305,000, whilst those in the manufacturing sector declined by 125,000. Furthermore, although some decline in the number of tourists from the United States occurred during 1985/86, largely as a result of Middle-East Terrorism, the British Tourist Board has predicted that Britain's total earnings from foreign tourism alone, including payments to airlines and shipping companies, will rise from £4 billion in 1982 to an estimated £6.7 billion in 1987, with the number of visitors rising to 15 million. (Source: The Financial Times, 18 January, 1984). The importance of the Industry in the nation's economy during a period of rising unemployment would be hard to exaggerate, nevertheless, it is probably true to say that it does not attract public attention for the following broad reasons:

Firstly, the definitions of the parameters of the industry are hard to specify, as its operations range from sophisticated Park Lane hotels to seaside resort cafes and winkle stalls, with pubs, clubs and school meals and hospital catering services located somewhere in between.

Secondly, the majority of the people employed in the Industry are part-time women workers (viz. 91 per cent of the 1 million catering services employees and 62 per cent of the 1.33 million employees in the main commercial sectors in 1984 were women and over 58 per cent of these were in part-time employment). The total workforce is located in over 200,000 outlets nationally and helps to explain the low Trades Union membership, for example, and a correspondingly weak negotiating position.

Thirdly, the Industry has a reputation for exploiting its workforce in terms of low pay and poor working conditions. Thus, the Low Pay Unit Pamphlet No. 4, 'Waiting for Change' (1986) points out that over 700,000 employees fall below the Council of Europe's "Decency Threshold" for wages, currently set at £3 per hour or £116 per 39 hour week, in comparison with the basic minimum weekly rate set by the Hotel's Wages Council of £66.79 per week for a full-time worker employed outside London. The Report adds that nearly four in every ten hotel and restaurant employers visited by the Government Wages Inspectorate during 1985 were found to be illegally underpaying their workforce; and one of the leading restaurant public companies recently was accused of owing up to £500,000 in underpaid wages to its staff, despite a successful financial year of increased profits.

Finally, in the opinion of the Financial Times Survey (op cit), the relationship between the Industry and the government and public, alike, has always suffered from "there being no votes in it!" This observation is based on the fact that, although government, both central and local, are interested in the revenue and foreign currency which could be earned from tourism, voters themselves "regard new hotels, new hamburger houses and new holiday camps in much the same way as gypsy encampments and refuse dumps - we may need them but please put them in someone else's back garden".

5.2. THE BRITISH HOTEL INDUSTRY

The Hotel Industry is the third largest sector, after pubs and clubs and the Public Services, in terms of the total numbers employed in the industry. The generic term, 'Hotels', is used in government statistics to include guesthouses and other tourist accommodation, which accounts for the large labour force, of approximately 375,000 in 1984, in relation to the total number of registered hotels. The number of places of accommodation, other than hotels, is difficult to monitor but the CIU Statistical Review (1984) refers to 18,000 Bed and Breakfast/ Farmhouses, 4,500 private hotels and guesthouses and 1,600 Holiday Camps and caravan sites.

The Huddersfield Polytechnic Hotel and Catering Research Centre has carried out the most comprehensive analysis of the British hotel industry to date (Caterer and Hotelkeeper, 11 April, 1985), and over 200 hotel companies, with more than 2,500 hotels and 170,000 bedrooms, have been identified. The largest 50 companies own just over 35 per cent (889 hotels) of the total properties but these contain more than 60 per cent (102,679 rooms) of the available bedrooms; and the HCITB Review (op cit) notes that "the ten largest hotel companies operate 760 hotels (37 per cent of the total) and 70,000 bedrooms (48 per cent of the total)". Concentration of ownership in luxury hotels is also a characteristic of the largest companies, which own 16 of the 19 five-star hotels in Britain, whereas their share of the one-star and two-star hotel sector fell from 16.7 per cent in 1984 to 12.1 per cent in 1985. Overall, only one new hotel was opened by the largest 50 companies during 1984/5 and there was a net reduction of 961 bedrooms, due to higher investments in refurbishments as these companies attempted to move 'up market' into the more profitable, 'luxury hotel' sector of the industry. Ownership of the 50 largest hotel companies in Britain is dominated by three types of multinational companies; namely, the international hotel 'specialists', such as Trust-House Forte PLC, by far the largest company, Grand Metropolitan Co. PLC, Hilton International, Holiday Inns and Sheraton International. Next

are the 'brewery' hotels, which are owned by Bass-Charrington, Scottish and Newcastle, Vaux Breweries, Greenall Whitley, Arthur Bell & Co. Ltd. (the Guinness Group), and Whitbread & Co. Finally, there are the 'Synergistic Diversifiers', such as the Ladbroke Group, the Imperial Group, the Allied-Lyons Group, Aer Lingus and the Rank Organisation with their main financial interests focused in other industries, which all own at least one of the 50 largest properties.

Precise information about terms and conditions of employment within the British hotel industry is generally hard to obtain and most of the leading companies eschew publicity and are reluctant to pass on information to independent research bodies, such as the HCITB, except on the basis of strict confidentiality. This defensive behaviour may be related to the industry's poor reputation for paying low wages and high labour turnover; and it is worthwhile noting in the latter context that the HCITB Manpower Flows Research Report (ibid) shows an average labour turnover of over 78 per cent in 1983, whereas the Employment Gazette reports an average annual wastage rate for all manufacturing industry of 26 per cent in 1979, declining to 23 per cent in 1983.

5.3. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF HOTEL ORGANISATION

Medlik (1980) notes that hotels are referred to

> "as luxury, resort, commercial, residential, transient and in so many other ways....that it is helpful to appreciate what the main types of hotels are, by adopting particular criteria for classifying them, without necessarily attaching precise meanings to them".

As examples of these criteria, an hotel may be classified according to its location, position in its location, relationship with particular means of transport (eg. motels, motor, railway and airport hotels), the purpose of a guest's visit (eg. business, holiday, convention or tourist hotels), or according to the short or long duration of a guest's stay, the range of facilities and services available to residents and non-residents, as hotels may provide an extensive range

of services or merely overnight accommodation and breakfast to guests, or whether or not it holds a licence for the sale of alcoholic liquor.

Furthermore, there is no universal agreement on how hotels should be classified according to size, but the term "small hotel" is normally applied to one with fewer than fifty bedrooms and the term "medium-size" hotels is generally used in Britain to describe hotels with 50 to 300 bedrooms. Although different criteria are used in hotel guides, etc., normally four or five classes or grades of hotels are used in Britain. The obvious advantage of obtaining a five-star classification for an hotel providing luxury standards is that these services are charged at a much higher rate than in "quality" three-star or four-star hotels; and proportionately higher rates are charged in the middle range than in "economy" two-star, or "basic" one-star hotels. Finally, hotels are also classified in terms of their ownership and management and one-star and two-star economy hotels are more likely to be independent, and managed by the proprietor than the three, four, or five-star, 'quality' to 'luxury' hotels, which are normally owned by a company or an hotel consortium.

5.3.1. Hotel Organisation

Three particular developments best illustrate the changes that have occurred in hotel organisation in post-war Britain, largely due to the adoption of North American innovations. Firstly, a grouping of functions occurred in the early 1950's which resulted in increased integration of the activities carried out in the hotel reception, services and housekeeping departments. At the same time, Food and Beverage Managers were appointed with responsibility for all the activities which were previously organised in separate restaurant, bar and kitchen departments under the direct control of the hotel manager. Secondly, an accompanying growth in the number of specialists occurred, so that personnel, sales and marketing, and purchasing departments were common features of the large hotels and of hotel groups by the early 1970's. Finally, individual hotels became less self-sufficient

in providing various services for guests, and many activities were provided through internal rentals, concessions, specialist suppliers and operators such as independent bakeries, butcheries, launderies and part-time 'silver-service' waiting staff agencies.

The following classification of activities, which follows a common pattern of uniform and standard systems of accounts, emerged in most hotels in Britain during the 1970's:

Operated Depts. (revenue-earning)	Major (primary) activities	Rooms, Food, Beverages.
	Minor (anciliary) activities	Guest Telephones, Guest laundry, Other guest services.
Support Service Depts. (undistributed overhead)		Administration, Marketing, Property operation, Maintenance and Energy Control.

5.3.2. The Organisation of Revenue Earning Departments

(i) Rooms

The accommodation function of an hotel is usually described in terms of reception, services and housekeeping and the main components of these hotel accommodation functions may be summarised as follows:

Department	Functional Areas
Hotel Reception:	Room Sales, Guest accounts, Telephone, mail and other guest services.
Services:	Servicing arrivals and departures, Guest information and service arrangements.
Hotel housekeeping:	Servicing of guest rooms, Servicing of public areas, Sundry housekeeping services.

Room sales are the primary function of an hotel and the provision of sleeping accommodation is the most distinctive hotel product, because it is usually the largest single source of hotel revenue and frequently generates more sales than all the other services combined. According to Davis and Stone (1985) an international study of hotels conducted in 1984 revealed that Room Sales as a proportion of Total Hotel Revenue in Selected Regions and Countries amounted to 52.4 per cent in 1976, compared with Food and Beverage Sales of 38.6 per cent, and Miscellaneous Sales and Income of 9.0 per cent. In view of their importance of Room sales to the overall profitability of an hotel, either all three activities operate as separate departments with their own heads of department; or Reception and other services are grouped under the function of 'Front of House' under one manager, or all three departments are grouped together as a 'Rooms Department', again under a manager who is responsible to the hotel manager for these activities.

(ii) Food and Beverage

The provision of food and drink services is the second major source of revenue in most hotels and accounts for a larger proportion of employees than the provision of accommodation and ancilliary services. According to Davis and Stone (op cit) this is due to two factors: Firstly, in contrast to the provision of hotel rooms, meals and refreshments may be supplied to non-residents as well as to resident guests and often include substantial conference and banqueting sales. Secondly, the provision of meals and refreshments includes a relatively higher labour content than the other services provided, whereas accommodation is a service activity which includes a negligible use of materials, and there is no cost of sales. In contrast, the provision of meals and refreshments results in composite products made up of commodities and of service, and the use of materials represents the cost of sales. In providing food and beverages, the 'value', made up of the cost of commodities, labour costs, overheads and a profit allocation, increases progressively with each stage of a food cycle

operation which consists of various activities, including the purchase, receipt, storage, issuing, preparation, service, and sale of the product to the guest. A similar, but less complicated, 'value chain' underpins the sale of beverages, including spirits, wines, beers, minerals and coffee, to guests. Because of the high money value of individual items, careful attention has to be paid to the receipt and secure storage of beverages and regular stocktaking also assumes particular importance. Preparation, service and sales are simpler activities than in the sale of foods because these can be carried out by the same person, and there is normally a standard unit of sale in each case.

An important link in the Food and Beverage 'value chain' which has not yet been considered is food production, of which a range of different methods are available. Traditionally, food production methods evolved over a period when there was an abundance of cheap labour and the design of the typical Victorian hotel kitchen was based on the principle of the division of labour, into what became known as the 'partie' system, which required similar tasks in preparing different foods to be carried out by a particular group of employees. This development resulted in a rigid demarcation of tasks in the kitchen so that the staffing ratio was high in comparison with the number of meals that were actually served. This system tended to ossify during the first half of this century, mainly because numerous levels of authority were established in most kitchens and were supported by long periods of apprenticeship and training, which were accompanied by significant pay differentials between the members at different levels in the kitchen hierarchy.

Following World War Two, changes were introduced in the form of new technology by manufacturers of kitchen-suppliers rather than in the hotel and restaurant kitchens. Traditional kitchen tasks began to disappear in the 1960's with the introduction of new technology as the demand for slower, manual skills was superseded by faster, mechanical methods and traditional kitchen hierarchies and the

supporting apprenticeship system were dismantled. These changes only encouraged the further implementation of new technology so that by 1966, the first cook-freeze catering operation began in Britain and was followed during the 1970's by more sophisticated 'portion-control' cook-freeze, cook-chill and production-kitchen systems, which utilised purpose-built blast freezers and micro-wave ovens in the rapid, hygienic preparation of food at a high yield and low unit-cost.

Despite these changes, 'Waiter Service', which involves the transport and service of food to a customer at a table or counter by an employee, is still widely available in hotels and restaurants, although various changes in Food Service methods have also occurred alongside the above-mentioned developments in Food Production methods in hotels and catering kitchens. Examples include, 'Self-Service', or the 'Traditional Cafeteria' arrangement.

Another service method is the 'Carousel' system, consisting of several rotating shelves at different heights upon which food is passed from the kitchen to a plating table from which the carousel is continuously fed with hot and cold plated food, according to customer demand. In 'luxury' and 'quality' hotels, where an a la carte restaurant may also operate, it is common to provide either a 'Carvery' or a 'Buffet' system. Under the 'Carvery' system, the first course is usually served by a waiter, but subsequent courses are selected from a limited range and either served by the customer himself, or by a chef who has been trained in the requirements of 'portion control'. To minimise preparation costs, the food is usually prepared in bulk and kept hot by a series of hot-plates and special overhead heating lamps. The 'Buffet' system is usually a more expensive form of the self-service system which originated in cafes and canteens, and relies on food being displayed attractively on one or more tables from which customers collect a plate at one end and move along, helping themselves to the food of their choice. This system results in cost advantages which arise when bulk quantities of food are prepared in advance and

presented to large numbers of people at one 'sitting' with the minimum service staff requirements.

Food Service methods are extended in many hotels to give the guest a choice of having breakfast and other meals within the privacy of his own room. In smaller hotels, this service is often provided as an 'extra' by the same staff who serve in the bars or restaurants, but it is usual in larger hotels for food and beverage to be brought to guests' rooms by members of a separate Room Service Department. The usual procedure is for a guest to order his requirements from a short menu by telephoning the Room Service Department.

Finally, it is usual for hotels to group banquets, conferences and similar 'one-off' services together under the heading of Functions, because these customers frequently belong to organised groups, such as clubs, firms, or wedding parties, which normally make advance arrangements for the dates, times, numbers attending, menus and other requirements for each occasion. Requirements are planned and organised as separate functions with, for example, a common menu being served to each participant and separate rooms being set aside so that guests can be promptly served either by members of the Banqueting Department, or by part-time waiting staff who are hired for each occasion.

(iii) Minor Ancilliary Guest Services

According to the Worldwide Lodging Industry International Reports (1976), Miscellaneous Sales and Income as a proportion of Total Sales Revenue amounted to 7.4 per cent from Minor Operated Departments and 3.4 per cent from Rentals and Other Income during 1976. Under Minor Operated Departments were included such services as the provision of Guest Telephone, (ie. telex facilities are provided in larger hotels) and Guest Laundry services. Although Telephone services generate their own revenue and incur separate costs of sales, payroll and other direct and indirect costs, this Department is usually incorporated into the Front Desk Department.

The Guest Laundry Services department is also run as a separate cost centre in most hotels, or else sub-contracted to an independent local laundry and the hotel charges the guest a separate premium to cover the collection and delivery costs of laundry. When an internal Laundry Department is operated in the larger hotels, this is frequently incorporated as a separate section in the Housekeeping Department.

Rentals and Concessions are so diverse that it is only possible to mention the most common forms which are to be found in the larger hotels, where areas of the foyer may be sub-let as kiosks which are independently operated as bookstores, newsagents, boutiques, hairdressing salons, jewelry counters, florists, car-hire and guided tour agencies.

5.3.3. The Organisation of Support Service Departments

The Support Service departments include all the non-revenue service activities carried out in the hotel which are usually grouped under the headings of general Administration, Accounting and Finance, Personnel Services, Purchasing, Sales and Marketing, and Property Operation, Maintenance and Energy Conservation. In practice, these non-revenue services are usually organised either as part of the hotel manager's own responsibilities, or are delegated to a single member of the management team, or in larger hotels, are assigned to separate departemnts, each of which has its own departmental manager, and summarised as follows:

Department	
General Administration:	General Management, Secretarial services, Health and Safety, Security.
Accounting and Finance:	Hotel Accounts, Public Accounts and Auditing, Monitoring of Stock-taking.
Personnel Services:	Personnel Recruitment, Staff Selection and Training, Personnel and Industrial Relations, Training Boards and Agencies.

Purchasing:	Furniture and specialist equipment, Food and Beverage suppliers, Hotel Accounting procedures.
Sales and Marketing:	Marketing Research Agencies, Advertising Agencies, Public Relations Consultants.
Property Operation, Maintenance and Energy, Conservation	Preventative Maintenance Programmes Consultations with Architects, Builders, Designers and Engineers.

Each of these activities requires specialist knowledge and skills, as distinct from normal operational experience, which will differ in respect of a particular activity and according to the size of the operation in a particular hotel.

5.3.3. The Management Structure

Given the movement towards greater division and grouping of operated and service activities into departments, coordination and control is normally achieved by the members of the management team who occupy positions of authority below that of senior management, which is normally represented in an hotel company by the board of directors. Depending on the size and the total revenue of an hotel, the senior executive may either be designated as the managing director, the general manager, or as the hotel manager. The extent to which he may be responsible for formulating the hotel's business strategy varies within companies and between operating units, but the senior executive is invariably responsible for the implementation of agreed policies and for the overall day-to-day performance of the hotel's activities. Again, depending on the size and the complexity of the hotel's operations, it is usual to appoint one or more assistant managers who normally have authority over the various heads of departments. There is, however, some sharing of authority and responsibilities at this level, because larger hotels are expected to provide continuous service for guests, and this is commonly achieved through the role of 'Duty

Manager', which may be undertaken by the deputy manager or the heads of department, who are required to act on behalf of the senior manager during their periods of duty.

Further coordination is also achieved by the appointment of Food and Beverage and Front Desk managers who normally report to the hotel Deputy Manager, although it is also common for the latter to have direct responsibility for all Food and Beverage activities. Below this level, heads of departments are generally responsible for the different requirements of the Operated departments and the Support Service departments, discussed above. Examples of the former would include the hotel housekeeper, the head chef, the restaurant manager and the reception manager, whereas 'service' managers would include accountants, buyers, and personnel and training managers.

A typical example of an Organisation Chart for a large hotel is presented as Figure 5.1 and this depicts an organisation structure which is designed to reduce the span of control of those concerned with the coordination of related activities to provide the optimum degree of delegation. The organisation chart is normally supported by management schedules which state the title, responsibilities, and the immediate superior for each position. According to Medlik (ibid), delays in decision-taking are avoided by implementing a 'principle of three' wherever possible. For example, menu planning for each outlet is usually undertaken by a 'triad' consisting of the food and beverage manager, the head chef and the appropriate departmental head.

5.4. HOTEL 'PHILOSOPHIES'

According to Medlik (op cit), a clear expression of business policies can usually be relied on to establish a formal frame of reference for taking decisions in most situations. In implementing agreed company policies, management will attempt to achieve accountability for the performance and results of the section or department for which a particular employee is responsible, whilst ensuring that the individual

is only responsible for those results which he can control. With this objective in mind, traditional systems of management, are widely used in larger hotels to ensure that individual managers participate in agreeing on unit objectives and criteria of performance, and carry out a review and appraisal of results. Yet Medlik (op cit) notes that there are many rules, beliefs and conventions which are not formulated as policies, yet influence the way people act, and are accepted by them as part of the everyday conduct of most hotels operations. Combined with the formal procedures, these unofficial conventions and practices make up what is sometimes referred to as the 'common doctrine' or the 'philosophy' of the business that may include "ethical standards, which guide management and staff in their dealings with guests, suppliers and others". The prevailing philosophy may also be concerned in concrete terms with operational standards as well as the general attitude of management which

> "has well been described as 'the way we do things around here'... there is no sharp dividing line between policies and philosophies. Both are codes dealing with the outlook and approach guiding the hotel in its dealings with others. The former may be formal and more general: the other less formal and more specific".

How, then, is one to distinguish between the behaviour of employees which is due to 'policies' and that which is the outcome of the hotel's 'philosophy'?

It was argued in Part One that differences between the Prescribed and the Emergent communication behaviour of participants in collectivities can be understood by analysing the extent to which, in carrying out their respective tasks, they have direct contact with the 'end-users', ie. the customers for whom the goods and services are provided. This arises because direct contact with 'end-users' is such a predominant feature of the work performed by those employed in 'service' organisations. However, not every employee is required to deal directly with guests, because of the specialisation and division of labour which occurs either because of previous decisions taken by management to introduce agreed standards of variety and customer

'choice', or in response to increases in the demand for more diverse 'services' by the customers who make use of these organisations. Details of the involvement of employees in these internal Communication Networks are important when considering hotels as organisations because 'policy' requirements, such as the need to deal directly with guests, provide a useful way of distinguishing between the 'expected' activities of those employed in Operated and Support Services departments. Of equal interest, however, would be knowledge of the extent to which the prevailing 'philosophy' of an hotel results in changes in the involvement of their employees in the emergent communication activities and the extent to which these particular arrangements are sustained over a period of time.

Important ways in which the relationships between different employees and their customers results in marked changes between 'prescribed' and 'emergent' behaviour in hotels and restaurants has already been well documented by W. F. Whyte (1948), who found that restaurant waitresses frequently experienced conflict in trying to reconcile the demands of guests for better service with the response of the kitchen chefs and the reaction of management, which created "role stress" and often reduced these employees to tears.

Similarly, George Orwell, (1963) and Mars and Nicod (1984) have drawn attention to alternative patterns of instrumental behaviour that waiters adopt towards their customers. For example, in his description of life in pre-war hotels and restaurants, Orwell (op cit) noted the sudden change that came over waiters as they entered a hotel dining-room, when

> "the set of the shoulders alters; all the dirt and hurry and irritation....(drops away)...in an instant... And you could not help thinking, as you saw him bow and smile, with that benign smile of the trained waiter, that the customer was put to shame by having such an aristocrat to serve him".

One should, according to Orwell,

"never be sorry for a waiter...He is thinking, as he looks at you, 'What an overfed lout...One day, when I have saved enough money, I shall be able to imitate that man'... And that is why waiters are seldom Socialists, have no effective trade union, and will work twelve hours a day...They are snobs and they find the servile nature of their work congenial".

This analysis is confirmed by Mars and Nicod (ibid) who provide first-hand evidence of a wide range of what Blau (ibid) describes as "extrinsic" strategems, many dishonest, that waiters resort to in order to maintain "the jump" on their customers. In one example, an experienced waitress described how she would extract a tip from a party consisting of parents with young children who, because they could least afford it, would otherwise be regarded as poor 'tippers'. The waitress would first 'befriend' the parents by suggesting the cheapest soft drinks on the menu for the young children and then spill one of the drinks whilst serving their order, but so adroitly that one of the children, often the youngest, would be blamed for the accident. The damage would then be cleared away promptly with good humour and a minimum of fuss, after which the parents would invariably give a larger tip to the waitress as a 'reward' for having alleviated their embarassment in a public place.

Henderson (1965) argues that these attitudes are a consequence of their instrumental behaviour, noting that

> "A worker who receives 75 per cent of his income from tips is not an employee in the usual sense, but merely a private entrepreneur doing business on somebody else's property...it is not the employer relationship that counts, but rather their negotiations with the consuming public".

Contact with customers often means that 'tips' are provided by guests to employees other than waiters in acknowledgement of 'services' rendered. Saunders (1982) notes that, of his sample of head hall porters, "65 per cent admitted to earning good tips whilst at the same time minimising the importance of such rewards by way of added comment in the questionnaires". Saunders (op cit) adds that all the Head Hall Porters in his study also saw themselves "as a source and mine of

information available to residents at all times" and claimed "to know everything that is going on in the hotel". They also saw "themselves in a position to be able to select the 'right' patrons for coming to stay in the hotel". Given that a common characteristic of the work of both waitresses and head hall porters is the requirement that they should engage in regular 'contact' with customers, factors such as status, remuneration, age, sex, length of training and the individual employee's formal and informal working arrangements with other staff would also need to be considered if we are to understand these contrasting differences in observed behaviour. For example, the extent to which the transactions of head hall porters rely on 'internal' and 'external' information networks may be gathered from the above account, but also from additional observations by Saunders (op cit), who notes that head hall porters tended not to exchange goods with other employees or with guests (ie. "70 per cent do not have to carry luggage as part of their duties and a small number expressed extreme irritation about having to lick the postage stamps on guests letters"). As for their involvement in 'external' networks "75 per cent have connections abroad, usually with head hall porters in hotels in the larger cities, by reason of their membership of the International Society of the Golden Keys". Despite these insights, little information is available about the extent of customer tipping within the industry, although it is known that the pay scales of 'service' staff employed in bars, restaurants, room service, or as porters and doormen, etc., were previously set at deliberately low levels by the defunct Wages Council to compensate for this alternative source of untaxed income.

In an attempt to introduce a more equitable system of remuneration for hotel staff, the more reputable employees often request guests not to 'tip' staff and will even draw their attention to a separate 'service charge' which will be added to bills in lieu of tipping. This practice is more common in hotels which traditionally follow the French 'Tronc' system, whereby any additional remuneration is pooled and divided amongst service staff according to their position and length of service. The practice is said to be preferred by both management

and the Inland Revenue, but is unpopular with many employees. The accepted management view is that the system not only reduces conflict amongst service employees, but also between them and other hotel staff who would not normally expect to receive these extra payments. Several major drawbacks with the 'Tronc' system account for its general unpopularity amongst employees. Firstly, many disreputable employers are known to pocket 'service charges' for themselves as extra profit and not allocate them to their service staff, and this practice was reported to a House of Parliament Select Committee by the Low Pay Research Unit (ibid) in 1986. Secondly, younger employees, particularly waiting staff, often resent the smaller shares they are usually allocated, even under a well-run system. Thirdly, variations of the 'Tronc' systems are frequently introduced, even by reputable employers, without service charges being implemented, which mean that staff have to rely on their own initiatives; and those earning large tips often resent having to share their earnings with those whom they regard as inefficient, without entrepreneurial flair, or are less popular, or unlucky with customers. Mars and Mitchell (1976) also suggest that collusion often occurs between management and labour in matters relating to tips and what they term as "fiddles and knock offs". This collusion can even extend beyond the allocation of differentials into outright tax evasion so that

> "collusive tax evasion can, therefore, also be usefully regarded as a constituent element within the total payment system...a situation very reminiscent of the 'lump' found within the building industry - a practice that successive governments have tried to outlaw".

The basic pay of most workers is often made up as follows:

Basic Pay + Subsidized Lodging + Subsidized Food + Tips or Service Charges (where applicable) + Fiddles and 'Knock Offs'. As mentioned above, differences between 'total' and 'basic' pay are difficult to quantify, so much so that, in 1982, even the resolute Inland Revenue service gave up demanding that employees should declare any income received in tips and applied a standard deduction for taxation purposes

'across the board' for all service employees working in hotels and restaurants.

Because labour costs in hotels generally constitute the largest share of the total costs which fall under the direct control of management, the latter exercise "relatively greater freedom in deciding its expenditure on labour than it has in deciding other expenditures". This control is usually pursued either by staff reductions, a low wage policy, or the substitution of labour with machinery. As the demand for hotel accommodation rises, labour shortages are met either by employing overseas or seasonal labour, or what Saunders (1981) refers to as "stigmatized labour", who notes "a correlation between poverty, vagrancy, workshyness, employability and the stigma phenomenon" which was widespread in his empirical study of kitchen porters employed in the hotel industry. Most senior company managements ignore the implications of a priority being given at the hotel management level to the pursuit of a low wage policy and are prepared to accept the disadvantages of chronic labour shortage and high labour turnover so long as the financial objectives are achieved. Hotel managers learn to live with this situation by adopting methods of payment which permit them almost complete autonomy within the boundaries of their own 'properties'.

None of these issues are raised in Medlik's (op cit) detached discussion of the "policies" and "philosophies" of hotels, however, which is confined to the identification of "line" and "service" relationships in the organisational structures of hotels, with the qualification that these will be modified in certain cases in terms of "the way we do things around here". A systematic study has never been carried out on the relationships between these prescribed systems and the emergent ways of doing things in hotels; and a prima facie case exists for 'mapping' these in hotels using Communication Network Analysis, because of the insight this might shed on how formal procedures are modified by individual employees carrying out a diverse range of tasks under the same roof.

5.5. AN ALTERNATIVE CLASSIFICATION OF EMPLOYEES' JOBS IN HOTELS

Attention has already been drawn in Figure 5.1 to the considerable number of departments which are considered to be essential in a large hotel if it is to meet the expectations of guests and match the services offered by competitors. The actual numbers of separate jobs within these different departments is not discussed but, based upon the findings of this research, probably includes over forty different types of management, supervisory and subordinate jobs in the medium hotels and over fifty categories of jobs in the larger hotels. Given such diversity, it is hardly surprising that the simple neo-Weberian classification of jobs into either managerial, supervisory and subordinate categories is rarely followed in hotels, except at the supervisory level. The term 'manager' is rarely used, however, except to designate the senior executive's role as 'Hotel General Manager' and the Personnel Manager's position. Heads of departments are given titles, some of which are peculiar to the hotel and catering industry, such as Inn Accountant, Chief Engineer, Chief Security Officer, Executive Chef, Sales Executive, and Leisure and Recreation Executive.

Despite the attempts to standardise the various activities mentioned by Medlik, a clear typology of the jobs performed in hotels does not exist which would eliminate some of the disparities and omissions reported in the literature. For example, the Office of Public Censuses and Surveys (1980) only categorises the Occupation Groups of Hotel Managers, Head Chefs, Supervisors of Kitchen Porters, Waiters, Hotel Porters and Bar Staff, which have a direct application to the industry, under the three Social Classes of II to IV. With only a little ingenuity, it would be possible to classify the forty-nine to fifty-six separate jobs, recorded in the focal hotels, into four of the five Social Gradings of Occupations, viz. Social Classes: II to V, inclusive, as defined by Goldthorpe and Hope (1978).

Medlik (1972) was probably the first to attempt to classify the jobs carried out in the British Hotel and Catering industry into the eight

categories: Managerial, Food preparation and cookery, Food service, Bar staff, Domestic, Uniformed staff, Clerical and Commercial and Miscellaneous. Unfortunately, this classification has only a limited application to the focal hotels where all staff are 'Uniformed' and even members of senior management wear identical company clothing; and this practice appears to have become more popular throughout the industry. Secondly, considerable duplication of tasks in the Food and Beverage areas, which spread across several of the Medlik categories, was observed in both hotels. This finding confirms the earlier findings of the HCITB Research Unit which made two attempts at classifying the various jobs in the industry under, firstly, the following four categories: Managerial, Supervisory, Craft, and Operatives and others; HCITB (1984). Secondly, under the following six categories: Managers, Supervisors, Crafts People, Operatives, Specialists and Trainees; HCITB (1983). Of the two classifications, the latter appears to be the more relevant to this research, as the following six different areas of Hotel and Catering work were also identified in the two focal hotels:

(a) food preparation and cookery;
(b) service of food and drink;
(c) handling and storage of food and drink prior to preparation;
(d) cleaning activities;
(e) administrative and clerical work;
(f) supervisory and managerial activities.

The only drawback with this useful analysis is that, as far as application to this research is concerned, the following departments have not been included: Porters, Pool and Maintenance.

The HCITB report (op cit) concludes that "two thirds of the sample (of 990 employee interviews) worked in three or more of these areas on occasions and about 90 per cent worked in at least two of them. People in managerial and administrative positions had the most diversity in their work". It will be argued later that this last finding probably

arises because managers and administrative employees have greater access to the different internal and external environments of the hotel, as an information-processing system.

Meanwhile, in the United States, Wasmuth and Davis (1983) carried out a detailed study of Labour Turnover in twenty different hotels, which will be referred to in more detail in Chapter Eight, but is of interest here because, by excluding a subdivision of jobs within different departments as either Management, Supervisory or Operative, they were able to reduce their typology to fourteen different positions, including Porters and Maintenance Engineers, which they later classified under the following six departments: Accounting, Engineering, Food and Beverage, Front Office and Housekeeping.

As discussed under Chapter 2.6.4 and 2.6.5, more comprehensive classification of the organisational structure of an hotel would be to amend the Payne/Mintzberg typology as summarised briefly below, with the main functional positions having been inserted alongside the appropriate level in the typology.

(1)	Strategic Apex	:	General and Senior (Departmental and Duty) Management.
(2)	Middle Line	:	Food and Beverage and Housekeeping Supervision, Sales and Security.
(3)	Techno-Structure	:	Administration and other Management clerical assistants, Maintenance.
(4)	Support Structure:	:	Housekeeping, Laundry, Kitchen Stewards and Staff Canteen.
(5)	Operating Core	:	Reception, Porters, Telephone, Pool, Kitchen, Coffee Shop, Restaurant, Banqueting, Room Service, Bar, Night Club/Terrace Cafe.

5.6. CONCLUSIONS

It is contended that this Job Classification typology possesses greater explanatory power than previous attempts to categorise jobs in hotels for the following reasons: Firstly, all the jobs carried out in hotels can be classified under the five categories in the Payne/Mintzberg typology. Secondly, this classification accommodates each of the approaches discussed above by generally grouping employees according to their common skills and use of similar technologies. Thirdly, distinctions can be made between individual employees within the six Job Classifications, shown in Figure 2.11, according to their involvement in the different 'internal' and 'external' information-flows in the hotel. The single exception here is that two categories of employees with contrasting Operational and Support Service skills, ie. non-supervisory chefs and maintenance fitters, have had to be grouped together because of their potential involvement in similar Communication Networks in the hotel, although it will be noted that the jobs have been separated under Job Classification 3. This problem can be resolved by regarding the hotel as an Open System which is constantly adapting to changes in the internal and external environment and individual changes in behaviour in these different Communication Networks should be determined empirically. Fourthly, by monitoring the extent to which individual employees participate in the Prescribed and Emergent Communication Networks in an hotel, distinctions can not only be made between and within the different Job Classifications (eg. non-supervisory chefs and maintenance fitters), but this analysis should also provide an objective method of describing, analysing and explaining how hotels differ from each other in terms of what Medlik (op cit) refers to as their 'policies', which "may be formal and more general", and their 'philosophies', which may be "less formal and more specific", as it is in this area that the main differences in the organisational characteristics of hotels may be recognised because "what some hotels may regard as their philosophies, others would refer to as policies".

Finally, on a more practical level, the typology can also be used to investigate seemingly intractable problems within the hotel industry, such as high labour turnover, by carrying out replicated studies of changes in the communication links of individual members of the various job classifications over time and comparing these with the numbers of employees who leave or remain with the hotel during the same period.

NOTE

1. Arnold Bennett, The Grand Babylon Hotel, Penguin Modern Classics, London, (1938), p.17.

CHAPTER 6 : CORPORATE STRATEGY AND THE PRESCRIBED OPERATIONS IN THE TWO FOCAL HOTELS

"One stark monotony of stone/The long hotel, acutely white,/Against the after-sunset light".

Arthur Symons (Note 1)

6.1. THE PARENT HOTEL COMPANY

This description of the characteristic activities of the hotel company participating in this research has been restricted by the need to respect a written request from the Group Personnel Manager "to allow you to publish papers relating to the research, but with the proviso that our Company name is not revealed".

The British-based company is a subsidiary of a Canadian company, which is the largest franchise-holder of an American corporation that claims to be the largest hotel company in the world, owning 1,750 hotels in 1984/85. The company employed 1,700 full-time staff in Britain during 1985. Operations are coordinated by a head office staff of 55 people, including the United Kingdom vice-president, who reports directly to Canada, and eight directors/general managers who are responsible for Sales and Marketing, Operations, Personnel and Training, Financial Management, Housekeeping, Engineering Maintenance and Projects, Purchasing and Management Services. The General Managers of the company's ten hotels either report, first, to four Regional General Managers, or directly to the Operations Director. The Housekeeping General Manager is also based at head office and is directly responsible for all housekeeping and laundry operations throughout the company. The Financial Director is responsible for accounting, financial management, risk management and general hotel security procedures, health and safety; and numerous confidential company computing systems which are under the direct operational control of the Management Services General Manager. The Marketing Director is responsible for sales and marketing throughout the company, just as the Personnel Director is directly responsible to the Vice-President for

personnel and training in each hotel.

All properties are inspected regularly by representatives of the American parent-company to ensure that the minimum "four-star" requirements are met in Britain and each hotel bedroom is of a minimum size, equipped with a private bathroom suite and standard furnishings, including a television, a S.T.D. telephone, individually controlled air-conditioning, a writing desk, a trouser press, a mini-bar and facilities for making hot beverages. Corporate policy also requires each hotel to employ a computerized reservation system which connects all the company's hotels around the world by satellite from the head office in America and is reputed to be the world's largest privately owned computerised communications system. The same corporate brand-name must be displayed on all hotel literature and publicity material and a neon sign outside the property; and each hotel must also provide an indoor heated swimming pool and sauna, leisure and keep-fit facilities, free car-parking for guests, and impose no room charges for children under 19 years of age who share their parent's bedroom. Day-to-day activities are also standardised to control operations in the kitchen, restaurants, bars, room service, banqueting, housekeeping, reception, engineering, administration and other sections in the hotel; and these arrangements are discussed in more detail below.

The British company is not formally registered in the United Kingdom, for taxation purposes, and this has resulted in two unusual developments; Firstly, at the corporate level, two separate companies with nearly the same number of hotels, rooms and staff, operate in Britain. The larger company belongs to the Canadian company and the smaller one is a subsidiary of the American franchise-holding corporation. Both are independent, with separate head offices, directors and staff payrolls. Nevertheless, considerable coordination and overlap occurs in the area of business strategy. Thus, both use the same 'brandname', operate in the profitable, four-star luxury hotel market only, share reservations and other marketing information,

advertise each other's properties and 'special attractions', and generally employ the same basic hotel designs, operational layouts and manning-levels, to the extent that a customer visiting any of the eighteen hotels in Britain should not be able to distinguish the Canadian properties from those belonging to the American corporation. In fact, the British operations are reputed to be the most profitable of all the companies reporting to the Canadian holding-company; and frequent transfers of personnel occur between the two countries, with British managers often being promoted to senior executive positions in Canada, and more junior Canadian personnel attempting to 'earn their spurs' in the British properties. Little is known about the American-controlled hotel activities in Britain, except that this company is also expanding and regarded as very profitable within the industry.

Secondly, the legal registration of the company outside the United Kingdom has also influenced the composition of the workforce in the two London hotels. At the senior management level, four of the seven directors and four of the nine Hotel General Managers are Austrian, Dutch, French, Canadian, German and Italian citizens, respectively. Meanwhile, in the two London hotels, which employ between 140 and 170 full-time staff, it was claimed that as many as sixty different nationalities were employed at any one time, although only half of this number of people of different nationalities was recorded during replicated field studies. The main attraction for foreign nationals up until 1985 was the substantial financial benefit of being able to claim exemption from paying income tax at the same rate as their British counterparts. The advantages of this widely practiced policy are that employers can maintain a low salary/wage structure, especially in London, by employing 'imported' skilled staff at lower rates than the latter would presumably accept if normal U.K. tax rates were applied; at the same time, the latter's remuneration would generally be the same or higher than they could expect in net payments, after paying taxation, for similar occupations in their own countries. This concession which contravenes EEC legislation was partially withdrawn

in the 1985 'Budget', however, and has already resulted in two of the 'overseas' Hotel General Managers obtaining transfers to Canadian hotels.

Tax benefits would appear to be only one of a number of reasons why so many different nationalities choose to work in the two London hotels, for there is also a long tradition of people from overseas finding employment in London hotels. The 'importing' of French chefs to work in hotels on a regular basis can be traced back to the mid-1840's, for example, but the influx of West Indian, Filipino, and Portugese workers, who form the largest national groups in the two London hotels, and are mainly employed in lower-status jobs, precedes the opening of both of these properties and actually began to occur in the late 1950's and early 1960's. The diverse reasons why these people choose to work in Britain are not material to this research, yet it is worth noting that four of the Filipino waiters were second-year under-graduates who, on failing their examinations, came to Britain to take undemanding jobs as a means of avoiding conscription into the army and having to fight on the side of the, then, President Marcos.

6.2. CORPORATE STRATEGY AND THE TWO FOCAL HOTELS

Control of British operations has been delegated to a vice-president in London by the Canadian holding-company and the activities in each of the nine hotels have also been decentralised and are the sole responsibility of the General Manager and his senior management team. Complete decentralisation does not occur, however, thus the presidency of the British and Canadian companies is vested in the same person and individual General Managers have to agree budgets, known as 'Goals and Targets', with one of the Regional Directors. Operations are run according to 'Management By Objectives' principles, as advocated by Drucker (1954), and several short- and long-term corporate plans are prepared at Head Office, which become increasingly more complex as they advance into the future, but are broken down for individual employees during the current financial year. Corporate goals and targets are

further stratified in terms of Food and Beverage Operations, Front Desk, Housekeeping, Sales and Marketing, Personnel, Maintenance and Administration functions at the departmental level in each of the nine hotels. According to the Personnel Director, company policy attempts to relate remuneration to individual managerial and supervisory performance through regular appraisal interviews and the use of confidential 'Salary Curves' which are provided by Hay-MSL management consultants.

Before considering the focal hotels it should be noted that, in order to retain the confidentiality requested by the controlling company, the two hotels which are described in this thesis will be referred to as the 'London' hotel and the 'Coastal' hotel, respectively. The London hotel is the older property and has been open since 1973, whereas the Coastal hotel was opened in 1982. Despite these differences in age and location, there are various similarities between the two hotels which may be summarised as follows:

(i) Size and Grade of Hotels

Both hotels are classified as medium-sized and contain fewer than 300 but more than 50 bedrooms; in fact, the London hotel has 220 and the Coastal hotel has 180 bedrooms. Each caters for the luxury end of the market and has been awarded a 4-star grading by both the British Tourist Board and the Automobile Association.

(ii) Financial Control

Each hotel is run as a separate profit-centre under the control of a General Manager who, between 1982-85, reported directly to the same Regional Director. This arrangement was changed in 1985, with the departure of the Regional Director to take up a position overseas, when the General Managers reported to different Regional General Managers. The profitability of both hotels is dependent, not on food or beverage sales, but on 'Room Occupancy'. That is to say, a 'break-even' point

is achieved when 55 to 60 per cent of the rooms available in a hotel are occupied by paying guests. The 'break-even' point is therefore not the same for each hotel because as many as four different room tariffs may be applied, depending on the number and type of guests and the time of year. Room occupancy is usually highest in each hotel between the Monday and the Thursday nights in any week, because of business reservations and conferences, although the large company investment in promoting bargain-rate family 'Weekender' offers raised the average room occupancy above the 'break-even' point for both hotels throughout the year.

The financial performance of both hotels during the four year period, July, 1982, to June, 1986, is presented under Tables 6.1 and 6.2.

The profitability of the Coastal hotel declined steadily during the two-year period, 1983/4 and 1984/5, at the same time as that of the London hotel increased. Although it was accepted within the company that a provincial hotel could not be compared with one located in London in terms of room occupancy and profitability, it is worth noting that Head Office attributed the decline in financial performance at the Coastal hotel to a failure of local management, whereas the increase in profitability at the London hotel was attributed to the environment. Perhaps not surprisingly, the opposite interpretation was placed on these events by the respective hotel management teams. Thus, personal credit was taken for their hotel's success by the London senior management, whereas their counterparts at the Coastal property blamed their falling performance on environmental factors, such as the economy, the location of the hotel, the reluctance of the largest employer in the area to use the hotel, and even organisational changes within the hotel which had been imposed by Head Office.

This topic will be discussed in more detail in the final chapter because of its relevance to the concept of 'Interstitial Networks', discussed in Chapter 2.7.1, which are important because they focus

attention to the important 'boundary roles' played by individual managers and other leaders of opinion in organisations; and help to explain how information enters and leaves organisations, when it may be altered or distorted due to differences in the perception of members, (which occurred in the case of the various interpretations placed on the profitability of both hotels), as information on this topic progresses to and fro between influential networks in the environment (ie. Head Office) and the 'internal' networks of organisations such as the London and Coastal hotels.

(iii) Organisational Structure

The full-time staff establishments ranged from 139 to 165 members in the London hotel and from 126 to 132 members in the Coastal hotel during the period of the field study. It should be stressed, however, that the staff establishments in both hotels fluctuated by as much as ten per cent in any one year throughout the study because two different methods were used to increase or reduce staff numbers at short notice, to cope with sudden changes in demand. In the London hotel, this mainly involved engaging temporary staff from a local employment agency to work in the Housekeeping department on a long-term basis, whereas in the Coastal hotel, approximately one third of the full-time members of staff in this department were 'on call' and were retained on 16 hour per week contracts. Additionally, four undergraduates from British and Dutch schools of Hotel and Catering were engaged in the London hotel for periods of six months full-time 'industrial placement', as part of their 'Sandwich' degree courses. These students were usually employed initially in departments with high absenteeism and labour turnover. Yet another method of containing the staff establishment in the Coastal hotel, which is still in use, involved employing several unpaid students each week from local schools and colleges on food preparation in the kitchen, as part of a 'Trident' work experience scheme.

Otherwise, the full-time staff are employed in the following eighteen identical departments in both hotels, as well as in two additional departments, which are described below; one in the London hotel: the other in the Coastal hotel:

Management, Administration, Maintenance, Sales, Security, Porters, Pool, Reception, Housekeeping, Telephone, Kitchen, Coffee Shop, Banqueting, Room Service, Bar, Staff Canteen, Laundry and Kitchen Stewards.

These departments and sections are shown in a simplified version of a common organisational structure which is presented as Figure 6.1.

Both hotels have been organised into numerous small departments and sections to meet the requirements of guests, seven days per week, and to provide essential technical and administrative services. To achieve these objectives all staff, with the exception of several senior managers and members of the administration section, are employed on a split-shift roster. Because specific work-groups are duplicated in the larger departments, such as the Kitchen, Coffee Shop, House-keeping and Reception, there is a corresponding increase in the number of supervisors, which totalled thirty-seven in the London hotel and twenty-eight in the Coastal hotel. Control is maintained through direct 'line relationships' between the operatives, supervisors, departmental managers and a shift 'Duty Manager', who is either a Senior manager or the head of one of the operated departments, and assumes executive authority in the absence of the General Manager, so that 'cover' is provided seven days per week.

The various operations and support services provided in the two focal hotels are discussed below.

6.3. FOOD AND BEVERAGE OPERATIONS

These operations are typically divided into the five main departments of Kitchen, Coffee Shop/Restaurant, Bars, Room Service and Banqueting,

which are provided in every hotel. Special features at the London hotel include an a la carte restaurant and, from 1985 onwards, the Coffee Shop was upgraded to a Brasserie. During the same year, the separate Disco Bar/Night Club, which had been open since 1982, was closed down on financial grounds.

With the exception of the Kitchen, all these departments employ staff who are required to deal directly with hotel guests in carrying out their tasks and other responsibilities. Other departments falling under Food and Beverage Operations with staff who do not have any direct contact with customers include the Kitchen Stewards and the Staff Canteen. As depicted in Figure 6.1, the heads of all the above-named departments at the London and Coastal properties are reponsible to the Assistant General Manager of the hotel.

6.3.1. Kitchens

The traditional 'partie' method of food preparation has been retained on a small scale for the benefit of guests using the a la carte restaurant in the London hotel but the organisational structure has been simplified as a result of the introduction of 'Cook-Freeze and Thaw' production-kitchens in both hotels. Using these systems means that food and menu requirements have to be planned in advance, purchased and prepared in bulk, quick-frozen and refrigerated in 'blast' freezers, before being 'tempered' and cooked on demand to meet guests' requirements. The management function in both kitchens is undertaken by an Executive Chef who has overall responsibility for ordering foodstuffs, planning menus, as well as the daily operations and general administration, although this function is delegated to one or two Sous Chefs at certain times, because of the two-shift system.

The Supervisory role is carried out by the Production Chef at the Coastal hotel, who is assisted by several Chefs de Partis and Commis Chefs, and is responsible for ensuring that daily operations activities comply with the forward planning requirements in the production-kitchen.

The role of Production Chef does not exist in the London hotel, however, and the production-kitchen tasks are carried out by chefs in the other categories mentioned above. At breakfast time, food is prepared by two or more Service Chefs (known as Breakfast Chefs at the London hotel) but all other meals are prepared by the Chefs de Partis or Commis Chefs in both hotels. Two extra Chefs de Partis, who specialise in a la carte cooking, work on the late-shift in the London hotel and attend to guests eating in the Restaurant rather than in the more modestly priced Coffee Shop/Brasserie.

6.3.2. Coffee Shop/Restaurant

Guests using the Coffee Shop in both hotels are able to choose food from either a limited menu, which employs waiter service, or from a self-service 'carvery', where a range of various hot set-dishes, soups, cold meats, salads and various desserts is available, although one or two chefs de partis are normally in attendance to slice portions of meat or serve soup to guests. As in the kitchens, a reduction in the levels of authority has occurred in the Coffee Shop/Brasserie in both hotels, but this is due to the restricted choice of food made available to customers and also because some of the limited service is provided by chefs rather than waiters. Otherwise, operations are run by a Coffee Shop/Brasserie manager, two or more shift-supervisors, and between 10 and 16 wait/ers/resses, some of whom work part-time only in the London hotel.

In the London hotel, guests are given individual service in the lavishly furnished a la carte Restaurant by either the Restaurant Manager or one of two Head Waiters.

6.3.3. Bars

There is a main bar in each hotel which is run during the evening by a Bar Supervisor, who is responsible to the Food and Beverage Manager for 'cashing up' and stock control, and is assisted by two or more barmen/maids per shift. Additional Drink Waitresses are also employed to take

guests' orders in the Coffee Shop/Brasserie and serve these after collecting drinks from the bar.

6.3.4. Room Service

Separate facilities are provided in a section of the kitchen in the London hotel and in a purpose-built unit on an upper floor close to guests' rooms in the Coastal hotel. Most orders are given over the telephone from a simple menu which is placed in each room and food is either prepared by Room Service staff in a micro-wave oven or ordered directly from the Kitchen. Room Service operations are run in each hotel by up to two wait/ers/resses per shift and they report to a supervisor, who is also responsible for stock control and monitoring each day's cash receipts.

6.3.5. Banqueting

Business conferences, wedding parties, dinner dances and banquets are the principle functions provided in both hotels by small groups of permanent employees, supported by large teams of part-time or agency staff, who are 'on call' as required and are often paid on an hourly basis. The department is run by a Banqueting Manager, who is assisted by a deputy in London and two shift supervisors in the Coastal property, and a further two Banqueting waiters in both hotels. Because functions have to be arranged in advance and often take place outside normal business hours, liaison between the senior management, sales, the kitchen and bars is delegated in both hotels to a member of the Administration staff, called the Banqueting Coordinator, whose other responsibilities include confirming reservations, circulating details of agreed menus/buffet arrangements and invoicing customers.

6.3.6. Ancilliary Food and Beverage Functions

The Kitchen Stewards department, which is also located in a section of the kitchen at both hotels, is classed as an ancilliary function because all other Food and Beverage Operational staff are dependent on

it for the supply of clean crockery, cutlery, glasses and utensils, etc. Along with the change-over to the production-kitchen system, the company has also automated the stewarding activities in most of its hotels. New technology has been introduced which has eliminated much of the unremitting 'stigmatised' drudgery of this work, as described in the previous chapter. Previously the steward worked alone and cleaned everything by hand, whereas items are now separated first by others, then fed via a conveyor belt or carousel into an automated dishwasher, rinser and dryer, which can be pre-set according to whether pans or glasses, etc., are being cleaned.

From discussions with staff, this welcome change in the stewards' work routine was not pre-planned by the company, but evolved after expensive equipment had been installed and was found to be running inefficiently because of unavoidable delays caused by the preparatory work that had to precede the automatic cleaning operation. Briefly, to run the equipment at full capacity, batch loading was required because different items required different machine settings and each item also had to be scraped free of surplus food, etc., before loading could commence. These problems were resolved by involving chefs and waiters in scraping used equipment and crockery before placing these into the appropriate, plastic-trays, colour-coded for easy identification according to the required machine-setting so that damage or inadequate washing and drying was avoided.

Because of the economies resulting from this division of labour, as few as two stewards are employed per shift on this work and on more general cleaning of the kitchen area during the night. These stewards report to a Chief Steward, often a Company Management Trainee on the first stage of a four-year training programme, who is responsible for ordering cleaning materials and oversees the Staff Canteen, issuing 'tallies' to staff that enable them to obtain free food at break-times from the automatic self-service dispensers in the canteen.

To conclude this section, the Staff Canteen is the remaining Food and Beverage ancilliary function to be discussed and this section is staffed by one Canteen Assistant per shift in both hotels, although a part-time relief is employed at weekends in the London property.

6.4. FRONT DESK

The work routines and staff establishments of each Front Desk department, which normally consist of separate Reception, Telephone and Porter departments, have also been standardised throughout the company, and employees in this area are required to wear different styles of approved company clothing, so that they can be easily distinguished by guests, and can deal with their queries according to set procedures.

6.4.1. Reception

This is the largest Front Desk department and the main information centre in each hotel, which is under the direct control of a Front Desk Manager, with the other two departments being required to play a supportive role. Typical operational tasks include registering guests into the hotel, issuing a computerised key-card that gives the guest access to his room, providing details of the various hotel and other local services, dealing with guests' accounts, accepting cash receipts from other departments such as the bar, restaurant and room service, and reconciling the daily accounts of the hotel. Additional responsibilities include providing special services for the hotel's 'Weekender' guests. The remaining Reception staff in both hotels include an Assistant Front Desk Manager, several Reception Supervisors who work shifts, a 'Weekender' Supervisor, and between 8 to 12 Receptionists who also work a two-shift system. In addition, there is a Night Audit Manager and a Night Receptionist who are responsible for compiling guests accounts and completing the overnight audit of cash receipts, etc.

Because Reception is the main information centre in the hotel, the communication systems in this area are more diverse than in other departments and include separate computing facilities for processing reservations received from company hotels and other sources, issuing personalised guest bedroom key-cards, charging guests' accounts for use of the mini-bars and television video programmes which are provided as extras in their rooms, compiling customer accounts, monitoring the in-house security system which registers each entry into guests' rooms, and the energy-conservation system which controls the temperature, air-conditioning, smoke detection and other safety controls in guests' rooms, using the in-house public address system for calling guests and playing recorded music and controlling the staff personalised calling system.

6.4.2. Telephone

The provision of guest telephone and telex services is a profitable activity for the company and one or two telephonists per shift, who are responsible to a Telephone Supervisor, are on duty around the clock in the London hotel, where these services are provided in a separate section from Reception. The Front Desk layout is different at the Coastal hotel, however, and the telephone services are incorporated within Reception so that staff combine the two functions and the night telephone service is manned by the Night Audit Manager and his assistant.

6.4.3. Porters

Porters are also employed on a two-shift basis at the Coastal property and a typical shift comprises two porters who report to a Head Porter but, because more guests arrive by air from overseas at the London hotel, this service is provided around the clock and the morning and evening shifts are supplemented by a normal day shift. A uniformed Doorman/Commissionaire is also employed at the London hotel.

6.5. HOUSEKEEPING

This is the only one of the company's revenue-earning departments where the Executive Housekeeper is responsible to both the Hotel General Manager and Housekeeping General Manager at Head Office. The reasons for this policy are unclear and appear to reflect a tradition within the industry to appoint women only as Housekeepers (viz. the Housekeeping General Manager is the only female member of the senior management team at Head Office and she described herself as a 'token female' and complained that she was not a member of the Business Policy Committee, "despite being responsible for nearly one in five of the company's employees").

Housekeeping normally consists of the following departments and activities: Housekeeping, Laundry and Public Area Cleaning.

6.5.1. Housekeeping

This department is under the direct control of the Executive Housekeeper supported by an Assistant Housekeeper and several Floor Supervisors, in both hotels. A part-time relief-supervisor is also employed at weekends in the London hotel. Rooms are cleaned or 'made up' by Chambermaids/Room Attendants who work alone on a 'payment by results' system and have to complete a 'target' of 18 rooms per 8 hour shift. Staff who fail to reach this standard either leave, are asked to go, or are laid off during slack periods and not engaged again, whereas those exceeding this target receive a supplement on their basic pay for each additional room. Approval of chambermaids' work is the responsibility of the Floor Supervisors who are issued with a check-list, listing over 40 separate tasks which have to be carried out in making up a guest's room.

5.5.2. Laundry

Where this service is provided in the Coastal hotel, the staff consist of several Laundry Assistants per shift and two Laundry Supervisors,

who all report directly to the Executive Housekeeper. Soiled linen, etc., is either transferred down a chute from the upper floor bedrooms to the laundry by the chambermaids, or is brought in by other staff from the Kitchen, Bars, Coffee Shop and Room Service or, in the case of personal uniforms, etc., is left for dry cleaning by individual members of staff. To reduce labour costs, the company has installed automatic pre-set washing, drying and ironing equipment which can process sheets and other linen from guests, food and beverage departments and wet towels from the swimming pool. At the London hotel, these services are provided by the Laundry in a nearby company property and laundry is merely collected, bagged, and issued on return in this hotel. The cleaning of staff dresses, suits, overalls and uniforms is sub-contracted to a local dry-cleaner at both hotels and is issued to staff at set times. Public Area Cleaning is carried out by one or two employees per shift who attend to the public toilets in the hotel, clean corridors, walk-ways surrounding the Swimming Pool/ Leisure Area and the changing rooms.

6.6. MARKETING STRATEGY

An hotel is theoretically able to extend the range of facilities and services to include its own entertainment, shops and recreation facilities, so that it may become a self-contained community which caters for all or most of the needs of their customers. The 'Total Hotel Concept' (Medlik 1980), comprising factors such as location, facilities, service, image and price, is therefore sub-divided according to the needs of the customer. The first approach to segmentation of the hotel market entails dividing hotel users according to the products bought. This approach presupposes that, corresponding to each hotel product, there are buyers who constitute a market for it and whose needs have already been identified through market research. Hotel Accommodation Markets may therefore be classified under three main categories; ie. Holiday Users, Business Users, and Other Hotel Users, including those temporary visitors other than Holiday and Business residents. Hotel Catering Markets may also be classified

under three categories and include Hotel Residents, Non-Resident Guests and Organised Groups.

Marketing strategy is formulated at the company's head office by the marketing director, who is also an active member of the company's Business Policy Committee. A marketing executive is employed at each hotel and has a dual responsibility to the marketing director and the hotel general manager. Market research is carried out nationally by consultants and confidential reports are submitted to the marketing director and the Business Policy Committee. Weekly market intelligence reports are also compiled at a local level by each of the hotel marketing executives and submitted to head office.

The marketing 'philosophy' of the company may best be understood in terms of separate 'week-end' and 'week-day' strategies. Because all the hotels have four-star gradings, the 'week-day' strategy is concentrated mainly on British and overseas business executives, with a particular emphasis on providing conference facilities. Casual overnight-guest business is not encouraged but never turned away and emphasis is placed on large one-off banquets and receptions, block-bookings of tourists and, especially in the London hotels, long-term room reservations for aircraft cabin-crews. Different room-rates apply to different types of guests, but a premium is placed on all food, bar and other beverage sales irrespective of the category of customer. In short, profit maximisation is pursued through a carefully defined policy of market segmentation. Thus, the 'weekend' strategy almost reverses the 'week-day' strategy, at a time when hotels are otherwise less full and staff absenteeism is high, and is the closest the company comes towards moving 'down market'. Special family bargain-packages, known as 'Weekenders', are heavily advertised and the company welcomed its one-millionth 'Weekender' guest during 1985. These operations are characterised by an 'economy' 'family-room' rate and a fixed-price 'set menu' although the premium on bar prices is still retained. The 'Weekender' business was described somewhat colloquially by one General

Manager as: "Attempting to maximise volume on our two worst nights in the week, by getting more bums in beds, preferably half-drunk first!"

6.7. PERSONNEL

As in other Support Service departments, overall responsibility for the Personnel function is shared between the Hotel General Manager and Head Office, chiefly because of the need to monitor manpower planning and industrial relations developments across the company and at the local level, although it should be added that trades unions are not recognised by the company. Personnel and training is carried out by a Personnel Officer at both hotels and, in the London hotel, an assistant is responsible for preparing the wages of weekly paid staff. Otherwise the main personnel duties include the recruitment and induction of new employees, staff counselling and dealing with queries relating to conditions of employment, organising staff training programmes and appraisal interviews, arranging staff social activities with the staff welfare committee, conducting 'exit' interviews on staff leaving their employment with the company, handling queries from bona fide outside bodies, and preparing regular progress reports for the Hotel General Manager and Head Office.

6.8. SECURITY

Hotel security is primarily concerned with the following main functions: ensuring the health and safety of all persons using the hotel, with particular attention being paid to guests and staff; protecting the personal property of these people, ensuring that company property is also protected, by checking that guests do not resort to non-payment of accounts etc., and that any undesirable visitor is quietly apprehended and escorted off the hotel premises.

Security is located in a separate office because occasions arise when guests and staff have to be interviewed in private, otherwise many of their activities are carried out in conjunction with the Reception staff in view of the large investment in automatic safety and other

security equipment which has been located in this department in both hotels. As a result, the role of the Chief Security Officer, who reports directly to the Hotel General Manager and Head Office, is often that of a figurehead and involves regular discussions with the police and fire service. Each hotel also has three shift Security Officers who work around the clock to ensure that continuous surveillance is maintained.

6.9. MAINTENANCE AND LEISURE AREA

This department is run by a Chief Engineer at the Coastal hotel and, since 1984, by a Maintenance Supervisor at the London property. Prior to that, the company's two London hotels were under the control of a Chief Engineer who had to take early retirement because of ill-health. There is also a Maintenance Supervisor at the Coastal hotel and a team of five Maintenance Fitters at both properties. In addition to carrying out general repairs, this department has implemented a preventative maintenance programme, controls the energy-conservation system, and monitors the purification and recirculation of water in the swimming pool.

The Swimming Pool and Leisure Area has been banded with the Maintenance Department because inspection of the Organisation Chart in Figure 6.1 shows that more than one department has some responsibility in this area, but the Chief Engineer or Maintenance Supervisor is probably more often involved than the other heads of department. In the case of the Coastal hotel, a Leisure Manager was directly responsible to the Hotel General Manager for the running of this department but was never replaced after she resigned. Since then, responsibility for both Leisure Areas has been undertaken by a Leisure Supervisor, who has a team of up to two Lifeguard Attendants per shift.

Apart from a swimming pool, leisure facilities are different in the two hotels and are more extensive in the Coastal hotel, which also provides a fully-equipped gymnasium and squash courts that are free

to guests and also open to paid-up from the local community who belong to the "gym 'n tonic" club. The Leisure Area is confined to the basement of the London hotel and space restrictions only allow a swimming pool and a sauna to be provided. These facilities are also available to hotel staff at certain slack periods during the day.

6.10. ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT

Under these headings in both hotels are grouped the Hotel General Manager, Assistant General Manager, Secretary, the Inn Accountant; and the Food and Beverage, Sales, Personnel, Banqueting and Stock Control managers. Most of these functions have already been described but something needs to be added about general management, stock control, and the control of management information systems by the Secretary and Inn Accountant.

6.10.1. General Management

Although the General Manager has overall responsibility for the hotel, company policy generally requires him to delegate control over all day-to-day operations to the Assistant General Manager, the departmental heads, the Duty Manager, or the Night Audit Manager, leaving the General Manager free, in the case of the London and Coastal hotels, to meet guests and represent the company in the local community, monitor the financial performance of the hotel and integrate forward planning in consultation with Head Office and other members of the hotel management team. It is also general company policy to appoint men under 30 years as Assistant General Managers and transfer them to larger hotels in the same position after two to three year periods, or else promote them from the larger hotels to general management positions in smaller provincial properties where they can be monitored and supported by Regional General Managers based at nearby company hotels.

6.10.2. Stock Control

In view of the considerable value of stocks, particularly spirits, the

Stock Control function is rigorously monitored by a Stock Control Manager and a Stock Controller in both hotels and, because of the risk of theft, withdrawals of more expensive stocks must be authorised by or issued to managers only. Security staff liaise constantly with the Stock Control department and company policy permits them to either carry out random searches of staff and their lockers and cars, etc., or else detain staff until searches can be carried out by the local police.

6.10.3. Management Information Systems

Generally, the organisational structure of the company's hotels has remained unaffected by the use of a growing range of computing systems. The role of Systems Manager is not recognised and, although new developments are controlled by Head Office, responsibility for the efficient running of these systems by the departmental heads and staff in an hotel is usually shared between the Inn Accountant and the General Manager's secretary, who is also in charge of the non-management functions in the Administration section. Company policy probably evolved in this way because, prior to 1980, very few staff had any computing experience and the need arose to train large numbers in the use of at least one of ten different systems that were introduced between 1979 and 1985, at the same time as these employees carried out their normal duties in the hotel. Because of their previous professional training, senior accounting staff had some computing experience, as did a smaller number of hotel secretaries. Additional training was provided for these staff who were subsequently given responsibility for arranging with the hotel Personnel Officer and other departmental heads for junior staff to receive adequate training in the use of specific equipment on a 'need to know' basis. Since the size and office layouts of the hotels are different, computing facilities are not always located in the same place or department and this factor, coupled with the previous experience and interest shown by individual managers, has also influenced the extent to which some systems have been adopted and developed in different properties.

In the London hotel, for example, the location of computing equipment in the office space immediately behind the Reception Area resulted in far greater involvement in computing being shown by the Front Desk Manager and his assistant than by the Hotel Secretary and, because of greater international demand for reservations, the Reservations staff have come to be regarded as experts on this particular computing system throughout the company. In contrast, the computing equipment at the Coastal property is mainly located in Reception, but also situated in the Administration and Accounting offices. Whether this was because each of these managers possesssed appropriate skills at the time of installation is not known, but the outcome is different in that the Hotel Secretary has direct responsibility for operating perhaps half of the systems and, whereas the Front Desk Manager and other managers probably possess only a limited knowledge, two of the Inn Accountants appointed between 1982 and 1985 were previously employed in junior mangement positions in the Reception Department.

Ten different computer systems were introduced across the company, by 1985 to cope with various aspects of hotel business; including a reservations system which links a particular hotel with every other company property around the world; a random-number system for reprogramming the electronic door locks on guests rooms, operated by 'card-keys' that can be discarded once the door lock has been reprogrammed; a system which monitors a guest's use of the chargeable in-house television/video film service and automatically logs guest's telephone calls; a system which automatically registers a guest's consumption of the drinks provided in the refrigerated 'minibar', which is installed in each bedroom; a twin-microcomputer system which monitors a wide range of sales, marketing and personnel records and weekly payroll information, accounting, cost and stock control records and related word processing data on suppliers; custom-designed equipment that automatically controls room temperature and air-conditioning throughout the hotel, as part of the Energy Remote Control and Optimisation System (ERCOS); and a system that processes each

guest's order in the Bars, Restaurant and Room Service, compiles bills, and transfers this data to the appropriate 'Black Box' system for further analysis.

6.11. CONCLUSION

Almost every activity in the two focal hotels has been standardised as a result of the international ramifications of a corporate strategy, imposed on the British subsidiary company by the American founding corporation, through the Canadian franchise-holding company.
The twin objectives of this strategy include the pursuit of increased profitability and world-wide growth, which are to be achieved through the initiatives of subsidiary companies, but also by allowing franchise-companies to compete alongside them in overseas markets, as long as each aspect of the decor, facilities and services in the franchised hotels is identical to those provided in the American-owned properties.

These arrangements are also profitable for the Canadian holding company and its British subsidiary company and, should these fail to act as an incentive, senior managers are also aware that their properties are subject to regular inspection without notice, by representatives of the founding company, with a resulting possible loss of franchise. Mutual goals are increasingly achieved not only by setting common standards, but also by the introduction of various computerised management information systems which are designed to extend management control over practically every facet of the operational and support services provided in each hotel, so that there is a predictable, near-asceptic similarity about the facilities provided in each hotel. This strategy has been implemented because guests, particularly tourists and business men travelling abroad, wish to be assured that the same high standards will be maintained in each of the controlling company's 1,700 hotels across the world, however monotonous and impersonal the ambience of the hotel.

Standardisation of operations and services has undoubtedly changed the traditional methods and organisation of work, especially for staff employed in the Food and Beverage operations, in all the company's hotels, although it was mentioned in the previous chapter that these changes had already begun to appear in the late 1960's, through the initiatives by competitors, well before the American or Canadian companies built any hotels in Britain. That the introduction of new technology has improved the working conditions of many of these employees is incontrovertible, but it has also resulted in some 'deskilling' of the jobs carried out by chefs and waiters, in particular, and dismantled many of the hierarchical 'skill barriers' which traditionally separated the various categories of kitchen and restaurant staff. The investigation of how individual employees in the focal hotels have responded to this emergent situation is discussed in the following chapter.

NOTE

1. Arthur Symons, Colour Studies (1895).

CHAPTER 7 : THE ORGANISATIONAL CONTEXT OF EMERGENT NETWORKS IN THE FOCAL HOTELS

"He had discovered that in some mysterious manner the news...had worked its way down to the lowest strata of the hotel's cosmos. The corridors hummed with it, and even underservants were to be seen discussing the thing, just as though it mattered to them!"

Arnold Bennett (Note 1)

INTRODUCTION

Attention was drawn in the previous chapter to similarities in the organisational structure of the focal hotels and it was concluded that, in an era of growing international travel and tourism, this policy is designed to ensure that guests are provided with standardised facilities and similar standards of goods and services in each of the company's hotels around the world. Yet it was argued on the opening page of this thesis that, if behaviour in organisations is to be fully understood, then attention must be focused on both the formal and informal arrangements and procedures which, in Communication Network terms, would influence the Emergent relationships between employees. The concept of 'Context' best characterises the interdependency between the structural and behavioural aspects of organsiations which is required if an Open Systems perspective is to be adopted. Here, Context refers to the internal and external environments of the two organisations and may be explicated by describing the main structural, functional, operational, cultural and kinship, and attitudinal differences between them, as well as any changes in each of these aspects which were recorded during the replicated field studies in the focal hotels. Structural differences refer to dissimilarities in the location, layout and design of the two hotels which may influence communication processes between employees. Functional differences refer to operations which were found to be carried out only in one of the focal hotels. Operational differences refer to variations in actual working practices which were observed in activities that were performed in both hotels. Cultural and kinship differences refer to

the informal working arrangements displayed by employees who shared common attributes such as family ties, or membership of similar ethnic groups, etc. Finally, the attitudinal differences focus mainly on the expressive and affective needs of members and were recorded during the confidential, face-to-face interviews with the employees who took part in the Communication audits.

7.1. CONTEXTUAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE FOCAL HOTELS

7.1.1. Structural Differences

The London hotel occupies approximately one-tenth of the area of the Coastal hotel, which is surrounded by extensive gardens and car-parking facilities, whereas the latter are situated underground at the London property which is located off a main road nearby a famous city landmark. Operations in the London hotel are carried out in a thirteen-storey building, resting on concrete piles to allow access to the car park and the swimming pool which is also below street-level. Entry to the hotel from these areas is gained via two lifts that service every floor. There is also a concealed service-lift and staff entrance in the underground car park, but these are unpopular because of occasional 'muggings' and car thefts in this area and most staff use the main entrance because use of the back entrance by staff is discouraged for security reasons. Surveillance devices are installed to monitor the car park and the perimeter walls, but Security staff revealed that only about one-third of these devices are operational and the rest are "empty shells which are intended to warn off no-gooders". Because of the close proximity of the hotel to a major road, the main priority of Security is to ensure that prostitutes and other unauthorised persons do not gain access to the upper floors where guests' bedrooms are located. Because of the smaller floor area of the London hotel, the space allocated to most Support Service departments is severely restricted. Access to the Maintenance department can only be gained by passing through the male toilets and cloakrooms; and the Stock Control section is situated in a tiny pre-fabricated hut in a corner of the exposed loading-bay.

Operating departments are generally more spacious in design but there are exceptions, including the areas allocated to Hall Porters, Room Service and the Lifeguards which, in the latter two cases, are so confined that two people could not work for long together in comfort.

The Coastal hotel is structurally divided into three interconnected areas and the largest is a seven-storey block where guests' rooms are situated. The Maintenance department is located in a purpose-built block on the roof, whereas Room Service is isolated in two converted bedrooms on the fourth floor and most of the Support Service sections are grouped behind the Front Desk department on the ground floor. This block is connected to a single-storey building, which houses the Kitchen, Banqueting and Conference rooms, the Stock Control department and Night Club, by a large atrium which has a sloping roof and houses the main entrance and foyer, the Restaurant which has stained-glass windows and is referred to by staff as "the goldfish bowl", an open-plan lounge and bar which lead in to the Leisure Area where the swimming pool and squash courts are situated. The boundaries between these sections are 'fixed' by arbours and rows of indoor plants and cultivated vines, in contrast to the London hotel where the same sections, though interconnected, are physically separated by half-brick walls and tall ornamental railings.

7.1.2. Functional Differences

The London hotel houses a well known à la carte restaurant which has a separate staff of a manager, head waiter, two waiters and two service chefs whereas the Coastal hotel provides a Coffee Shop/Restaurant only, which provides an extensive Table d'hôte and a limited à la carte menu. The Coastal hotel also runs a self-contained Night Club/Disco/Bar which had a separate staff of eight employees until 1983 when a decision was taken to close down the unprofitable day-time operations in favour of keeping the Bar/Disco open on several evenings per week with part-time staff.

Leisure facilities, including squash courts, are provided in a prominent position on the ground floor of the Coastal hotel, whereas the London hotel only contains a swimming-pool and sauna which is situated in the basement and equipped with artificial lighting. These extra facilities explain why additional staff were employed in the Coastal hotel during 1982/3.

A further increase in staff occurred at the Coastal hotel during 1983/4 when extra Lifeguards were employed, following the tragic drowning of a small Iranian child who could speak no English and, unaccompanied by his parents, entered the deep end of the pool in the temporary absence of the attendant.

7.1.3. Operational Differences

Differences in working procedures were recorded in the following departments which existed in both hotels.

(i) Maintenance

The chief engineer at the London hotel was responsible for two properties in 1983 and had delegated authority for maintenance at the London hotel to two supervisors: one, a carpenter, who worked alone in a separate unit on the thirteenth floor but was 'on call' at weekends: the other, an electrician, who worked with the other fitters in a workshop in the basement of the hotel. These arrangements were changed in 1984 when the chief engineer underwent a serious operation and more responsibility was given to the electrical supervisor at the expense of the carpenter, who indicated during the second interview that he found the reduction in responsibility difficult to accept and claimed that he had been poorly treated by the company. Clearer lines of responsibility were in evidence in the Coastal hotel, where the chief engineer was only responsible for one property, nevertheless, even here there was some dissention reported during the first interview with members of the Maintenance staff because a younger man had been appointed as a supervisor, ahead of an older Fitter, who had more

experience and longer service with the company. Senior managers generally regarded morale in this department as being higher at the Coastal hotel where a prestigious Department of the Environment National Gas Energy Management Award was won during 1984/5.

(ii) Security

Probably the two most demanding tasks of the Security team in the London hotel are related to 'crime prevention' activities, and ensuring that prostitutes, known colloquially as 'Toms', are prevented from soliciting guests or loitering in the foyer, bar, coffee shop, and upstairs passages and corridors. Crime prevention activities include the elimination of the theft of company stocks by staff, as well as fraud and drug trafficking by guests. Electronic surveillance equipment is used by the Security team, who are all ex-C.I.D. or Scotland Yard policemen, particularly in controlling the entry of prostitutes into the hotel, which requires the full-time employment of a Night Security Officer. Electronic locks are fitted to the doors of all rooms and all movements on the bedroom floors can be monitored on a 'control' panel, so that whenever successful soliciting occurs, not only do Security staff inform the guest by telephone that the single-room rate will be increased to a double-room rate unless a room inspection is allowed, but the departing interloper is intercepted by Security and 'warned off' from entering the hotel again under threat of police action.

The Security function at the Coastal hotel is a quieter activity with greater emphasis on a 'community policing' approach towards staff and guests. In contrast to his London counterpart, the Chief Security Officer, has assumed direct responsibility for health and safety as well as security, and also acts as regular Duty Manager in the hotel. He is also directly involved in the Personnel function and interviews all new employees at the start of their induction period, although he admitted privately that these are all 'screened' confidentially,

through contacts with former colleagues in the local police force, before formal job offers are made.

(iii) Pool

In addition to the differences in facilities and location within the hotel described above, there was also a striking difference in the organisation of this department in the two hotels. For example, there was no Pool supervisor in the London hotel during 1983 and the three members of staff complained that they were directly responsible to four different heads of department; ie. the Executive Housekeeper, for laundry and general hygiene; the Chief Engineer, for the condition of the pool and sauna; the Security Officers, for security and health and safety; and the Assistant General Manager, who had overall responsibility for all staff in the hotel. A Pool supervisor was appointed during 1984, but the complaint about mixed lines of responsibility persisted, although this was strenuously denied by senior members of management in the hotel. A further difference which was not contested, is that the Pool staff, are not permitted to leave their post during a work-shift, without first telephoning to Reception for a temporary replacement. Pool staff were not allowed to visit the Staff Canteen during working hours, for example, and even have refreshments brought to them by the Canteen staff.

The Pool staff at the Coastal hotel were under the control of a Leisure Manager during 1982/3 and were subject to less stringent controls than their London counterparts. Prior to the fatal accident in the pool, referred to earlier, a serious disagreement occurred between the General Manager and the Leisure Manager over the staff complement which culminated in the latter's resignation, without the post being filled during 1983. Other managers indicated privately that this friction had less to do with staffing levels than with an earlier argument between the Leisure Manager and the General Manager's wife. Whatever the reason, the Pool staff was reduced to three members up

until the drowning, when it was immediately increased to seven members and a Pool Supervisor was appointed.

(iv) Telephone

The Telephone section in the London hotel is located in a separate room from the Front Desk staff in the Reception Department and has its own supervisor and work roster, whereas these two functions are combined in the same working area in the Coastal hotel. The tasks and work rosters of these members of staff are shared; and there is also a common system of supervision. These changes probably occurred because there are far more international calls at the London hotel, where all the staff spoke between two and five languages.

(v) Laundry

The laundry facilities in the London hotel consist of a collection and issuing service only, as the washing, drying and ironing operations are centralised at another London property belonging to the holding company. All these activities are carried out in one working area in the Coastal hotel which is equipped with automatic washing, drying and ironing equipment; and this accounts for the larger number of full-time staff employed in this section.

(vi) Management

A distinct example of social stratification in both hotels was the reluctance of management to use the staff canteen because one of their most valued 'perks' was the authority to requisition drinks for themselves and important guests at the bar and eat daily in the Coffee Shop/Restaurant. Managers made far more use of the Bar in the London hotel and these informal gatherings tended to replace the more formal heads of department meetings which occurred each month in the Coastal hotel. Thus, it was observed that such decisions as the dismissal of an employee in Stock Control for arguing fiercely with his supervisor earlier in the day, the style of new lighting and table linen to be

purchased for the Brasserie, and the recipient of the next 'Employee of the month' award were all taken informally at the bar by a group including the General Manager, his assistant, the Food and Beverage Manager, the Front Desk Manager, the Personnel Manager and the Inn Accountant. It should be added that drinks were generally paid for as 'hospitality' by the Area Sales Manager of the brewery supplying the hotel who 'dropped in' each Monday to Friday evening and also provided complimentary tickets for sporting events, shows and events such as the 'Miss World' competition. This practice was referred to as the "six o'clock swill" by the uninvited male supervisors, who met in the bar of a nearby public bar to play darts, and was justified by the managers as being "the best way to meet the punters (ie. the hotel guests)".

Managers at the Coastal hotel were more likely to entertain guests with coffee than alcohol and their main gathering occurred over lunch in the Restaurant where they ate in groups of 4-5. Attention was paid to dress and appearance, so that one young manager was told to put on his blazer when he arrived for lunch wearing a smart white shirt and a company tie. Unlike their counterparts in the London hotel, they were never observed to discuss hotel business over lunch, yet an awareness of hierarchy was maintained in what was supposed to be a relaxed setting and they only joined the General Manager at his table when specifically invited to do so. Attention is drawn to their collective propriety because it should help to explain their reaction to the attempted changes in privileges, by the new Restaurant Manageress discussed below.

(vii) <u>Housekeeping</u>

Both sets of chambermaids complained about the isolation of their jobs and expressed dissatisfaction with the system of room inspection carried out by the Floor Supervisors. Their usual response to working alone was to turn on the radio or television in a guest's room. As for room inspections, their complaints fell under two headings. Firstly, older chambermaids in both hotels, some with over ten year's experience

in the London propertry, objected to these inspections being conducted by younger, inexperienced supervisors who had apparently been appointed on the strength of their academic qualifications. In the Coastal hotel, the two supervisors usually operated in tandem and all the chambermaids claimed that the Housekeeper "never did the rounds". Secondly, during the first field study in the London hotel, the West Indian chambermaids expressed their resentment of the offensive attitudes of two supervisors, one French: the other South African, who both left the company during 1983 and 1984. Similar criticism was made by the Laundry assistants of the deputy supervisor during the first survey in the Coastal hotel. Apparently, the latter was allegedly "always moaning" and "nit-picking". Matters came to a head before the replicated study when the Laundry assistants apparently presented the Executive Housekeeper with an ultimatum that either the supervisor should be told to alter her behaviour or they would leave, en masse. The outcome was that the deputy supervisor left instead.

(viii) Kitchen

The Kitchen chefs at the London hotel were all specialists who were generally older than their Coastal hotel counterparts and left to carry out their duties by the Executive Chef and the hotel management team who, according to this staff, never visited the Kitchen. For their part, the hotel management team criticised the Kitchen operations because the Executive Chef "never works after 5pm because he's more interested in table tennis than the kitchen" (apparently his daughter is a promising table tennis player). Other chefs supposedly left early because "they all do moonlighting jobs for cash-in-hand elsewhere". Two chefs admitted working occasionally in other restaurants, adding "What do they expect; you can't survive on the money they pay us here!" Following the illness of the Sous Chef after the first study, a young chef with a reputation for a violent temper was put in charge of the evening shift, but was reputed to have thrown a chair through the Brasserie window where guests were eating, when he heard that his girlfriend, a Coffee Shop Supervisor, had been passed over for

promotion in favour of the new Brasserie Manager. Both men had apparently exchanged blows later but, at the time of the replicated study, the chef was on 'a final written warning' because of this behaviour. Finally, the interview with another chef was cut short because of the persistently offensive remarks he made about the Filipino waitresses.

Only one ethnic group was represented in the Coastal hotel Kitchen which consisted mainly of young male chefs who, with one exception, were a very supportive team, despite what the Personnel Manager described as "the cheerful bullying" of the Executive Chef. The isolated chef was described by the latter as "good at his job but a loner who really wants to be a marathon runner", and he had apparently taken on the job of Breakfast Chef so that he could finish work early, when he was regularly observed on the 'running machine' in the Leisure Area. However, this employee was dismissed before the replicated audit was undertaken, for allegedly stealing a case of wine from the Stock Control store. Relations between the staff in the Kitchen and the Restaurant were regarded as "friendly and helpful" by the Executive Chef at the time of the first study, but these deteriorated when a new Restaurant Manageress was appointed.

(ix) Reception

Day-time operations ran smoothly in both hotels especially in the Coastal property where staff were not so hard-pressed and never had to cope with exigencies caused by guests arriving from perhaps fifty different countries each day.

Night operations were probably run more efficiently at the London hotel where there was an experienced team who, with the exception of a multi-lingual retired civil servant who worked part-time on the switchboard "because I'm a spinster with a limp and sometimes gets fed-up with my own company", were all members of different ethnic groups. An Indian-Jewish Security Officer, worked permanent nights

"because I love driving in the opposite direction to the heavy traffic at rush hours". The Sri Lankan Night Manager admitted that he enjoyed "the authority of being in charge, because nobody will let me run a hotel in Britain during the daytime, will they?"

An unexpected 'event' occurred on the night that the researcher arranged to stay up late to interview the Night Manager and his Reception Clerk after they had finished the 'audit' of the food and beverage and other receipts shortly after half-past two in the morning. By that time, the last guests had left the bar and returned home or retired to their bedrooms and most of the public-area and kitchen cleaning had been completed. The communication interviews finished shortly before half-past three and the researcher and the Night Manager emerged from a quiet office to find about ten members of the night staff, including the Telephonist, a Security Officer, two Porters, the Reception Clerk, two Kitchen Stewards and two Cleaners, assembled in the main foyer. A transistor radio was switched on at low-volume in the nearby lounge. Coffee, sandwiches, cakes and beer, with glasses and crockery, were brought in on trays by the two Night Porters and what, in another context, might have been described as a cheerful 'midnight feast', began and lasted until staff dispersed to complete their remaining tasks at around five o'clock in the morning, when the Doorman and the morning papers arrived, whereupon the Hotel night-staff quickly returned to their customary routines and the researcher retired to bed. Apparently, these informal 'get together's' occurred nearly every night, providing the Night 'audit' was completed satisfactorily on time.

Only two Reception staff and a Security Officer were employed on nights at the Coastal hotel during the first study, but the latter was observed to be acting as 'peacemaker' because the other pair had fallen out over errors in the 'night audit'. Both of these employees left before the replicated study was completed and were replaced by a Filipino Night Manager and a former Inn Accountant who had left the company, then been re-employed.

(x) Personnel

The Personnel Officer in each hotel is jointly responsible to the Hotel General Manager and the Company Personnel Officer for all matters relating to recruitment, induction, training, the payment of wages and industrial relations, etc. The Personnel Officer at the Coastal hotel is academically, but not professionally, qualified, whereas her London counterpart is neither, but belongs to one of the largest ethnic groups employed in the hotel and reputedly, has had trust of the 'core' employees since she joined the hotel almost ten years earlier.

Two different sets of problems were observed and discussed with the respective Personnel Officers. In the case of the Coastal hotel, the Personnel Officer worked alone up until 1985 and was probably over-taxed. As a result, she admitted that the Chief Security Officer had gradually assumed a responsibility for areas of personnel work which had grown out of the hotel's practice of permitting him to carry out checks on new employees through his former contacts in the local police-force. The outcome of the shift in responsibilities was that he interviewed all new employees during 1982/3 and 1984. This system was tacitly approved locally and at Head Office and received no comment, but for several situations in which the Personnel Officer was unable to counteract the Security Officer's influence. Firstly, an increasing number of employees, who were either related or shared a previous common background in the Armed Services or Naval Dockyards, were gradually recruited between 1982-1985. Secondly, according to the Personnel Manager and other colleagues, four managers and several supervisors, who were not members of this influential group left the company or were transferred to another hotel between 1983 and 1985 because of disagreements with colleagues. To complicate matters further, the Personnel Manager admitted that relations with the Chief Security Manager had deteriorated "ever since he heard of my relation-ship with a police inspector who happens to be black and was promoted ahead of him". This subject was not raised with the Chief Security Officer but both he and the General Manager commented that the

Personnel Manager "lacked confidence in herself", "spent too much time alone instead of getting out of her office and meeting staff in their workplaces", and "ought to make up her mind whether she intends to stay or not".

The London Personnel Officer, on the other hand, has an assistant who is responsible for the payment of wages, leaving her free to attend to recruitment, induction and training yet, according to respondents, training was at best rudimentary and carried out infrequently by colleagues within the respective departments, although this finding was challenged by both local and Head Office management. Adequate first-hand evidence could not be collected during the two visits, because the primary purpose was to conduct interviews with respondents, nevertheless it was apparent that the Personnel Officer spent most of her time interviewing low-status staff and departmental heads and supervisors were not involved in this activity. Induction, which consisted mainly of a tour of the hotel, a free lunch and an introduction to the relevant departmental head, was also carried out by the Personnel Officer. Again, little hard evidence is available but examination of the staff records revealed that only two of the seven new employees, who were introduced to the author by the Personnel Officer during both surveys, stayed for more than three days.

(xi) Coffee Shop/Restaurant

In the first communication survey, attention was drawn to the lack of interaction amongst members of the Coffee Shop/Restaurant and the low morale, which was mentioned by all but two respondents in this department during the face-to-face interviews, as well as the commonly-held view amongst staff that there was too much interference from 'outside', which was attributed to the open-plan design and the daily presence of managers from nearly every department, who ate lunch together in the Restaurant. The experience was described by one waitress, who left to work in Germany, as "like working in a goldfish bowl"; and analysis of the manpower records indicated that five

Restaurant managers and five supervisors had resigned within a period of approximately 2½ years.

A new manageress, a graduate in Hotel and Catering Management, was appointed in 1983, who had previously been employed in one of the company's Scottish hotels where, it should be noted, managerial staff were not permitted to eat in the Coffee Shop/Restaurant. She attempted to introduce the same practice in the Coastal hotel, arguing that the cost of providing managers with free lunches was excessive during slack periods at a time when the hotel was operating unprofitably and merely added to a heavy work-load when the Restaurant was full. Furthermore, her staff resented having to serve other members of staff and the regular appearance of managers from other departments, several of whom were critical, frustrated her attempts to improve morale and develop a sense of team-spirit. Her colleagues allegedly reacted by resorting to a 'whispering campaign' against the Restaurant manageress and during the second Communication survey all the managers, with the exception of the Executive Chef, who praised her professionalism, criticised her behaviour and mentioned 'in confidence' that "she has a drink problem....has a foul tongue....Isn't one of us....is always arguing in a loud voice....and can't be trusted", as well as making oblique remarks about her off-site relationship with a Regional Director who visited the hotel regularly. Other respondents, many of whom did not come into direct contact with the Restaurant staff at work, also expressed dissatisfaction with the Restaurant manageress. The outcome was that she appeared to receive no support from the acting or new General Manager and left the company, apparently in a depressed state, in 1984. It should be noted, however, that the evidence of the replicated communication survey indicates that not only had she been successful in improving staff morale and communications, but that the profitability of the Coffee Shop/Restaurant also improved during this period. In the eighteen months following her departure, a further three Restaurant managers were appointed and the daily practice of managers eating in the Coffee Shop/Restaurant remained unchanged.

(xii) Kitchen Stewards

Kitchen Stewards remained a stable core of employees in the Coastal hotel between 1982 to 1984 largely due to the efforts of a dedicated supervisor, who left without giving notice after one of his staff was interviewed by the Chief Security Officer, unbeknown to him and the Personnel Officer, following the disappearance of an item of jewelry from a sales-display in the main foyer. No amount of pleading by the hotel management could persuade him to return although his two sons continued to be employed at the hotel.

7.2. CULTURAL AND KINSHIP CHARACTERISTICS

Staff from a total of thirty different nationalities were employed in the London hotel during 1983, in comparison with only four nationalities in the Coastal hotel during the same period; and these totals increased to thirty-one and nine, respectively, during 1984. Three main ethnic groups were identified in the London hotel; namely, Filipinos, West Indians and Portugese, whereas the remaining overseas employees in both hotels originated chiefly from European or Commonwealth countries.

The Personnel Manager at the London hotel exaggerated the number of different nationalities employed on several occasions, claiming that there were "nearly fifty" and "over sixty" nationalities employed in the hotel and, in her estimation, the diversity of labour force was the principal cause of the labour turnover and the difficulties with staff training in the hotel. Without commenting specifically on these problems at this juncture, it has to be mentioned that over 220 interviews were carried out in English during 1983 and 1984 and only four interviews had to be abandoned because the English vocabulary of the four in question was inadequate. Interestingly, two of these employees who had been employed in the hotel for over five years, have adapted to life in Britain by marrying English-speaking Filipino waitresses from the Coffee Shop. Their 'lingua franca' is Spanish which, apparently, competes with English as the second most widely-spoken language in the Filipines.

Different areas in the London hotel were found to be 'colonised' by one of the three main ethnic groups. West Indians, for example, are mostly employed in the Housekeeping and Laundry departments, where a hierarchy is maintained through the supervisory roles being filled by better-educated Barbadians, known as "Bay'jans", whereas operatives are mainly from Trinidad or the Windward Islands.

The Portugese staff could also be broadly classified into two categories along educational lines, according to whether or not they spoke English. Those without English all worked in low-status jobs as Kitchen Stewards or Public Area cleaners, whereas those with English were employed as Porters, or in the Accounts, Telephone and Restaurant departments. One of the latter staff, a Head Waiter, who was married to a Filipino waitress, played a key role in acting as the unofficial spokesman for his compatriots, and dealt with their wage queries, tax inquiries, wrote letters and made telephone calls on their behalf to third parties outside the hotel. When this employee left to open a restaurant in 1984, his role was taken over first by a Portugese Accounts clerk, who was sacked shortly afterwards for stealing cash, and later by one of the Portugese Hall porters.

Filipinos were mostly employed in the Food and Beverage departments, with the females working in the Coffee Shop/Brasserie and the males in Room Service. As a group, they were all educated well beyond company requirements for these positions and all the men, for example, claimed to have attended university but failed to complete degrees, allegedly on financial grounds, and had left the Filipines rather than be conscripted into the armed services. As a group, these employees were regarded as efficient and hard-working by the managers and supervisors but, whether because of their superior education or the mutual support they received from living collectively, the Filipinos were subjected in private to racial and sexual stereo-typing by other operatives who were mainly, but not always, members of smaller minority groups employed in the Kitchen, Reception, or as Porters. Thus they

were referred to as "crooks", "cheats", "communists", "queers", "work-crazy" and "sex-crazy". They were also criticised for engaging in "hot-bedding" practices (ie. two people share the same bed in a single room by permanently working on opposite shifts), or in operating "back-to-back" rosters to suit themselves (ie. a group of perhaps eight would live together, holding down as many as 9-16 jobs in different hotels, and would arrange their work rosters privately so that the jobs were always carried out, often by different members, but wages and tips would be shared collectively, with the collusion of management).

As far as the field studies were concerned, the males were prepared to participate but the Filipino females were very unwilling to be interviewed and only several reluctantly participated in the replicated study. Two of these respondents admitted in private that their 'ninang' (ie. godmother, grandmother or patroness), had given them permission to be interviewed. Unfortunately, no amount of persuasion had any effect on this older waitress who, according to Kitchen gossip, was also the mistress of two younger unmarried chefs; and steadfastly refused to be interviewed.

In contrast to the above-named sections, departments such as Reception and Telephone (8 nationalities), Kitchen (7 nationalities), Porters, Bars and Management (all 5 nationalities) were more racially-mixed, although members of two of these departments were also reputedly linked by their homosexuality. Information was not sought on this matter, although the grounds for this allegation were probably not unconnected with the habit these employees developed of working similar shifts and using the swimming pool/sauna at the same time each afternoon.

As noted earlier, ethnic groups were far less in evidence in the Coastal hotel and only two Filipinos, a Nigerian, a West Indian and a Vietnamese refugee were employed during the period, 1982-85, although

all but two had left when the study was replicated. This employment 'policy' was not deliberate, according to the General Manager and the Personnel Manager, but the latter suggested in private that actual employment practices reflected the racial prejudices of some of her colleagues, although the incidence of people from ethnic minority groups living in the Coastal area is known to be below the national average for the U.K.

Kinship ties were more common in the Coastal hotel and 22 and 16 respondents, respectively, were either the spouses, parents, children, or sisters of other employees in the replicated studies. A further 10 and 8 respondents were engaged to be married. Another striking characteristic of the workforce was their previous local employment in either the Royal Navy, the Naval Dockyards, or the Police Force (ie. included in the last category were staff with members of the family who were police officers). In all, 28 and 33 respondents, respectively, admitted to possessing these links prior to joining the hotel staff during the two studies. As approximately one-third of the full-time staff either possessed kinship ties or shared comparable previous employment experiences, this recruitment policy was discussed with the first General Manager who revealed that when the hotel had been opened nearly two years earlier, "it had been decided to make a fresh start by not employing the drop-outs and drifters from other local hotels". In fact "only three members of my management team worked in the industry before; another pretends he did but got a bit of catering experience in the Navy!" Staff were apparently selected "following recommendations by other employees", or were recruited as "youngsters with catering qualifications who were looking for their first job". Staff were either "trained by me, Chef, who has a lot of experience in the industry and is a hard man to please, or my wife, who was at the same hotel school as I was, and is impossible to please! She left last year to start a family".

7.3. STAFF ATTITUDES TOWARDS THEIR WORK SITUATIONS

Staff in the London hotel were generally more cynical and critical about management, customers and the hotel's reputation than their counterparts in the Coastal hotel during the informal discussions that concluded the first communication interviews. The hotel was referred to by so many employees as "The Bed factory", for example, that the phrase appeared to have become a meaningless cliche. Less frequent comments in the same vein included: "Run for the Bloody Arabs!" and "Going downhill every day!" None of the respondents not even those who admitted to being very happy in their jobs, volunteered a complimentary remark about the hotel until responses, such as "Not Bad!", "It's alright!" or "It's O.K.!", were offered when respondents were pressed by the researcher. No seriously adverse comments were made about the General Manager who was described as "never seen" (ie. by most chambermaids, laundry, and kitchen staff), "well meaning", "shrewd", "always chatting up customers in the bar", "a smoothie". "He always had a pleasant word to say, not like some I could mention!", "I like him. Whenever you see him, he's always cheerful and never rude". "Alright, but he'll move on elsewhere in two years", "A cute customer!" "D'you know, he once told us to cook less bacon and serve sausages sliced down the middle for breakfast, because we were over-spent on the budget. Imagine doing that in a four-star hotel!" and "They say we're making a profit. If he can run this bed factory that well, there's hope for BL!"

Comments about Departmental heads were more severe with the exception of the Executive Chef and Executive Housekeeper, about whom everybody was complimentary, otherwise management were described mostly by Porters, Reception, Kitchen and Coffee Shop staff as "Up in the clouds!", "Never there when you want them!", "Not interested in my problems!", "You can't trust them!", "Apart from one or two, they don't know their jobs properly!", "They have no idea how to run a sensible business system!", "They should be training overseas staff to speak better English so they can do their jobs properly", "Idle/lazy

bastards", "They never arrive before ten o' clock and then are in here at lunch-time stuffing themselves, then at six o' clock they're all in the bar; some job eh!", "They're a two-faced lot/layabouts/a load of wankers/clapped out/walking wounded/dickheads; and not to be trusted". Comments about supervisors and operatives were generally more positive, although some abusive remarks were made about the alleged effeminite behaviour of two supervisors and some of their staff who were employed in the Food and Beverage and Reception areas of the hotel. Criticism was also expressed by operatives employed in the Restaurant about the 'Tronc' system for sharing out gratuities equitably, according to seniority and length of service. Staff were reluctant when pressed to discuss this issue in detail, although three respondents referred vaguely to what was construed to be a fairly recent case of malpractice or fraud in which an Inland Revenue Inspector had been involved. At the heart of the criticism was genuine resentment that "Over £400 disappeared with the last Tronc Master and they (viz. management) refused to call the Bill (viz. the Police) in to sort things out!" Nevertheless, again when pressed, all three admitted that the present arrangements for allocating tips were more satisfactory. Criticism was also raised by the Maintenance staff about safety precautions in the hotel, particularly when electric lights had to be replaced, or disco-lighting-equipment had to be installed and removed in public areas of the hotel, without the use of property safety harnesses and climbing-frames. These remarks were reported to the General Manager, without mentioning names, and the problem was apparently corrected.

In contrast, no adverse comments were made by staff about the way the Coastal hotel was run, especially those employed since the opening, who generally expressed considerable pride in the good name of the hotel. The General Manager, who was from The Netherlands, was regarded with more respect than affection, whereas his wife, who had been responsible for training the Housekeeping and Laundry staff, was still feared and criticised by people employed in these and the Food and Beverage

departments, even though she had not worked in the hotel for over a year. Critical comments were mainly restricted to remarks from 48 respondents about the rude behaviour of two members of senior management, but individual members of the Maintenance, Reception, Pool, Laundry, Coffee Shop, Bar and Kitchen staff were also the subject of criticism from between one and five respondents.

7.2.1. The Replicated Studies

Little was added by way of fresh criticism when the interviews were replicated at the London hotel, except that the absence of the General Manager resulted in fewer members of staff, apart from Management, referring to him unless they were asked to do so. On balance, however, staff were less dismissive about members of middle management, even though fresh disputes had apparently developed between Administration, Reception, and members of the Security staff; and one member of staff was suspended, then dismissed, for his part in a furious argument with his manager on the first day of the replicated study. Staff in the Food and Beverage departments were, with the exception of Room Service, the most critical and dissatisfied, whether with senior management or with each other, and serious friction appeared to mar relations between the Kitchen evening staff and the New Coffee Shop supervision. Briefly, an attempt had been made to upgrade the Coffee Shop earlier in the year, by renaming it as the Brasserie and appointing a manager and several new supervisors from outside the company, but these appointments were deeply resented by a group of chefs and waitresses because one of the supervisors in situ, a girlfriend of a senior chef, was passed over and had resigned in protest. The Filipino waitresses also expressed dissatisfaction with the new Dutch manager whom they said had been appointed "because he is related to the Dutch Regional Director", although this was denied by the new appointee. The Bar staff were also critical of senior management because of what were regarded as inadequate new appointments in this area. Only the Maintenance, Room Service and Housekeeping staff spoke of being generally more satisfied with colleagues and

working conditions that the year before, yet problems with at least one supervisor were described by the staff in two of these departments. A respite was provided by the West Indian and Filipino employees who appeared to have nothing but kind words for each other, although even they expressed justifiable resentment of four or five employees whom they regarded as racially prejudiced, and the Filipino waitresses had also been drawn into taking sides in the dispute between the Brasserie and the Kitchen because two of their "ninang's" boyfriends were chefs.

Six new managers and nine supervisors had been appointed in the Coastal hotel since the previous study and, with the four exceptions in the Coffee Shop/Restaurant, Reception, Pool and the Laundry, all the staff expressed broad satisfaction with most of their fellow managers, supervisors and operatives. Three general areas of concern were raised by over sixty per cent of the respondents: firstly, it emerged from these informal discussions that the hotel had experienced an unsatisfactory performance during the second-half of the previous financial year, when the Assistant General Manager had taken control, following the transfer of the previous General Manager. The Acting General Manager had since left the company and had been replaced by a manager from the Canadian parent-company, but staff were still uneasy and expressed their anxiety about possible redundancies and the future prosperity of the hotel. With only three exceptions, over 70 respondents who referred to this problem said that the Acting General Manager had been "treated badly/shamefully/unfairly" and was "forced to resign".

Secondly, a major reorganisation had also occurred in the Coffee Shop/ Restaurant since the previous study and a new position of Restaurant Manager(ess) had been created by promoting a supervisor from one of the company's Scottish hotels. Hotel gossips showed scant respect for the new appointee's reputation and she was alleged to be "the mistress/ girlfriend of the Regional Director". This aside, the transfer had apparently not proceeded smoothly, however, and the majority of

respondents who had been employed since the hotel opened used the informal interview as an opportunity to criticise the manageress on both personal and professional grounds. This issue has already been discussed under (xi) in page 179.

Finally, staff who were also generally unhappy that a senior member of the Reception department had been unfairly dismissed, in their opinion, for allegedly breaking a company rule about entering a guest's bedroom whilst off duty. The most senior female supervisor agreed to act as a spokesperson and she complained that the new General Manager had "used such foul language in the interview that I wrote to Head Office about him. I sent him a copy, but Head Office never replied and, d'you know, that man has never spoken to me since!" The Front Desk Manager confirmed the incident, adding that he had "got nowhere" when he raised the matter. Morale had suffered, according to him, and he had since "put in for a transfer to another hotel, which has been granted and I'll be leaving here next month". The General Manager argued that "the incident was a storm in a teacup". The girl had apparently been spotted by Security entering and leaving a bedroom with a guest. "I have to back these people, whatever her friends say. The rules are clear enough. Besides she didn't pull her weight; she wasn't worth a second chance. That goes for a lot more here. This place has lost money for months and they expect me to run it like the United Nations!"

7.4. CONCLUSION

Several important objectives are within reach as a result of this attempt to explicate the organisational contexts of the two focal hotels: firstly, once various measures of connectedness have been analysed for statistical significance, it should be possible to interpret the heuristic aspects of the major components of the Prescribed and Emergent networks in both hotels, by evaluating the composition and behaviour of the 'dominant coalitions' of employees who make up the predominant cliques and clusters in both hotels, as well as the 'opinion leaders', who belong to these cliques, and the

'isolates' who are excluded from them. Secondly, the replicated intra- and inter-hotel analyses can also be evaluated in terms of known changes in their organisational contexts. Finally, changes in context resulting from individual entry, job retention and exit from the focal hotels can also be investigated from positional, relational and cultural standpoints in terms of connectedness within either the Prescribed or Emergent networks.

NOTE

1. Arnold Bennett, The Grand Babylon Hotel, Penguin Books, London, 1976, p.32.

PART THREE: THE ANALYSIS OF DATA AND THE PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE FIELD STUDY

In Chapter Eight, the Cornell study of labour turnover in the hotel industry is described and a methodology is outlined which, in attempting to replicate this research across the company, introduces the concepts of survival rates/curves, average length of employment and the 'induction crisis', which are absent from the original study. Crude and amended labour turnover analyses are reported in detail, along with changes in the staff establishments and other relevant data, for each of the focal hotels.

In Chapter Nine, the testing of the main hypotheses and related sub-hypotheses is reported; and the analyses of communication networks at the clique-levels, to reveal opinion leaders and isolates, is described. The relevance of these and system-level measures of Connectedness for classifying the focal hotels under the Organisational Governance and the Grid-Group taxonomies is also investigated.

Finally, in Chapter Ten, the research conclusions and recommendations are discussed under separate sections which summarises the contributions of the field study to Communication theory and Organisational Communication research. The practical implications of the analysis of the communication networks data, including the roles of opinion leaders, isolates, dominant cliques and system-level measures of Connectedness on the Grid-Group, in particular, is also considered. The relationships between Connectedness, job retention and labour turnover are reviewed. The thesis closes with a summary of practical recommendations that were proposed and were successfully implemented in the Coastal hotel but ignored at the London hotel.

CHAPTER 8 : LABOUR TURNOVER AND JOB RETENTION IN THE TWO FOCAL HOTELS BETWEEN 1982 AND 1985

"People in hotels strike no roots. The French phrase...even says so: They are called dwellers 'sur la branche'."

Abe Martin (Note 1)

INTRODUCTION

It has been widely known from research carried out in Britain and the United States over nearly twenty years that Labour Turnover in the Hotel and Catering industry is substantially higher than that experienced in other industries. An investigation carried out in Britain by Hill (1968) on behalf of the Tavistock Institute is still classified as a 'Restricted Document' but summaries of this and subsequent research have been published by Mars et al (1979), who note that the industry has "particular difficulties in retaining staff. These arise from the close contact between staff and customers and in the provision of services in some sectors when other industries are not working". Referring to the Hill (op cit) study which was conducted in twenty properties, they note that "The annual rates of labour turnover...varied from 28 per cent to as high as 216 per cent...and... on average...is strikingly higher than in other industries...being... highest in hotels and restaurants". Mars et al (op cit) conclude that "Several fallacies can be nailed...namely,...that high labour turnover is caused by a labour shortage, or is the consequence of a 'poor quality' labour force, or results from the problem of the season". These were all regarded as

> "convenient views...that have one important characteristic in common: they all assume causes outside the control of individual managements... The Tavistock Institute suggests that certain kinds of management are related to high labour turnover...in particular to organisations which exhibit what we call a high degree of management vacuum or abdication, i.e. a tendency for managers to isolate themselves from their staff, to know little of what goes on in their organisation and to avoid overall responsibility for their employees. This...was most obvious...

> where staff obtain a large proportion of their remuneration from sources other than the wage packet and was particularly prevalent where tipping was practised".

The more recent HCITB study of Manpower Flows in the Hotel and Catering Industry (ibid) provides data on the movements of 569,000 managerial, supervisory, craft workers and operatives employed in hotels and guest-houses between 1979 and 1980. Annual rates of departure are also provided for each class of employee from which it can be computed that a total of 446,360 left the industry during this period, or 78.4 per cent per annum (range: 30 to 86 per cent per annum). This compares with an average annual wastage for all manufacturing industry in Britain of 26 per cent in 1979, declining to 23 per cent in 1983, when the annual wastage rates ranged from ten per cent to 55 per cent (Employment Gazette, 1984).

8.1. THE CORNELL STUDY OF LABOUR TURNOVER IN THE HOTEL INDUSTRY

A later study of Turnover in the hotel industry was carried out in the United States by Wasmuth and Davis (ibid), who undertook a study of Turnover in a sample of twenty large national and international hotels in the Unites States, Canada, France, West Germany, Austria, Switzerland, the Netherlands and England. Large hotels (with a minimum of 300 rooms) were chosen because it was thought that these properties would be able to provide personnel data and records relevant to the research. Data was collected through "interviews with nearly 200 general executive-assistant and departmental managers who were asked to respond to a questionnaire designed to identify the characteristics and turnover experiences of each hotel". In their research, Wasmuth and Davis modify the Bluedorn (op cit) Taxonomy of Turnover, which they attribute to a publication of the American Hotel and Motel Association (1982), by amending the dichotomy between "Voluntary versus Involuntary" Turnover, in favour of two other dichotomies; viz. an "External versus Internal" and "Planned versus Unplanned" classification.

(i) External versus Internal Factors

Wasmuth and Davis follow Hill (ibid) and Mars et al (ibid), by initially regarding the Turnover process as 'internally' rather than as an 'externally driven' process brought about, for example, by specific macro-economic factors. They argue that "our primary interest must be on turnover caused by internal factors...as...the data support the notion of disregarding external causes", and cite three different findings to support this argument. Firstly, they reject the proposition that turnover decreases with increasing levels of unemployment because, theoretically, employees have fewer other job options open to them, noting that "for eight of the hotels, turnover increased despite sustained high levels of unemployment in the local economy". Furthermore, turnover "remained low or decreased at two hotels in a market with low unemployment levels". Secondly, they argue that increasing competition "in the local market did not aggravate competition either", given that turnover levels would normally be expected to increase with competition, especially for skilled workers, noting that "In 60 per cent of the hotels studied, however, the trend was just the reverse; turnover for such personnel held steady or even decreased despite stronger competition". Thirdly, they were unable to obtain evidence to support or contradict another widely held belief in the industry; namely, that the presence of a trade union is a supposed cause of high turnover. All the hotels in the study recognised one or more trade unions, whereas only six of the seventeen hotels which contributed data throughout the study recorded 'high' turnover (viz. over 75 per cent per annum); four hotels recorded 'moderate' turnover, (viz. over 50 per cent but under 75 per cent per annum), and seven hotels recorded 'low' turnover, (viz. below 50 per cent per annum). The theory in this case is that new employees whose performance was marginal would be laid off prior to the end of their probationary period, since union agreements would tend to reduce the probability of lay-offs after that time. Unfortunately, "because most hotels did not maintain turnover data by length of service, however, we could not determine whether this actually occurred".

(ii) The 'Avoidable versus Unavoidable' Dichotomy

Wasmuth and Davis argue that this categorisation is "consistent, objective and reliable, providing that managers will take the 'hard line' that most turnover is avoidable". This is not to say that they deny that "costs or other constraints may lead to a subsequent decision not to avoid turnover", but they add that, "by taking the harder position, the initial analysis can be far more objective". The matrix used by Wasmuth and Davis to analyse the turnover data is presented in a generalised form as Figure 8.1 and in a more detailed version, which categorises the perceived reasons for employee turnover, as Figure 8.2. Further discussion of their research appears later in this chapter.

The term Labour Turnover will be defined in this chapter in an identical way to that used by Wasmuth and Davis (ibid) as "the termination of employment at the hotel by any member of staff for any reason". It therefore includes transfers to other hotels within the company, as well as dismissals, resignations, and departures due to seasonal contracts being completed. Part-time 'Agency' employees have been excluded, however, because details of their employment were not entered on the available Staff Establishment records, which were computerised in 1982 when the last of the company's hotels included in this analysis was opened, although another two hotels have been opened since 1986. The intention was to analyse the Labour Turnover in the two focal hotels only but the analysis was extended, at the request of the Head Office Business Policy Committee, to include all nine hotels over the 3½ year period, from 1st. January, 1982 until 30th. June, 1985, although only the two focal hotels will be analysed in detail in this chapter. Another reason for choosing a minimum period of at least three years is that this time-span was also adopted in the Wasmuth and Davis study. Differences arose between the two studies which are summarised below:

The American study included twenty hotels, of which seventeen contributed data over the three-year period; and these were located in nine different countries in North America and Europe, whereas this

study is confined to nine hotels belonging to the same company which are all located in the United Kingdom. Secondly, the grades of the hotels in the Wasmuth and Davis study are not disclosed, whereas all the hotels in the focal study carry four-star gradings, which were awarded by the British Tourist Board and the Automobile Association. Thirdly, all the hotels in the Wasmuth and Davis study are referred to as "large" hotels which, in common with British practice, are defined as containing "a minimum of three hundred rooms", whereas the nine hotels in the present study are all medium-sized and contain between 160 and 280 rooms. Finally, Wasmuth and Davis only provide data on the Labour Turnover and no information is presented on the total number of personnel who were interviewed per hotel, functional area, or by department, nor are Survival Curves or details on the average Length of Employment included.

8.2. METHODOLOGY

Copies of the Staff Establishment records, which all had the same format, were obtained from each hotel and the following data was entered on a computer for further analysis.

8.2.1. The Departmental Code

All departments were coded separately using a numerical code, ranging from 01 to 20. The same coding sequence was observed for each hotel, thus Management was coded '01', Administration as '02' and the Kitchen Stewards as '20', etc. In the case of the two focal hotels, differences in the organisational structures included a separate Restaurant and Coffee Shop in the London hotel and a Disco/Night Club in the Coastal hotel, otherwise all the departments were identical.

8.2.2. Employee's Reference Number

Each employee mentioned in the Staff Establishment records was allocated a four-figure numerical code by the company; and this identification system was retained during the study.

8.2.3. Job Classification of Each Employee

All jobs were coded using the six-fold classification described in Chapter 2.6 and each of these codings was cross-checked with the respective Personnel Manager.

8.2.4. Hours Worked Per Week

The hours of work of employees ranged from 15 to 40 hours per week and these records were analysed to determine the Crude Labour Turnover rates, although only employees working at least 20 hours per week were included in the Amended Labour Turnover analysis for the reasons given under Section 8.3.

8.2.5. Rates of Pay

Whenever this data was provided, it was recorded as 'pence per hour' for each employee. All data refers to basic rates only, as no records of gratuities, or other 'perks', were kept by the company. It should be noted that two hotel personnel managers deleted pay data from the employees' records which were made available. The matter was raised with Head Office and it was agreed that wage "bands" would be recorded in view of the fact that rates were often higher than Wages Council requirements.

8.2.6. Starting Date with Company

The starting date of each employee was recorded as a six-figure number, eg. 4th. April, 1979 = 040479.

8.2.7. Separation Date from Company

This was also recorded as a six-figure number for each employee.

8.2.8. Staff Still Employed by the Company

To distinguish current employees from those who had left the company, the six-figures '300685' were used for all members of staff who were

still employed by the company on 30th. June, 1985.

8.2.9. Additional Information

Details of all employees who had left the company were recorded on a separate form under their respective departments in each hotel. These forms were completed by the respective Personnel Manager, and returned for further analysis of the following additional information:

Sex of Employees: The numerical codes, 01 = male; 02 = female, were used.

Age of Employees: The numerical codes, 01 = under twenty-five years; and 02 = twenty-five years and over, were used.

Marital Status: This was the only request for information which could not be met because these details were, surprisingly, not kept by personnel in the employee Exit Interview files and this particular line of inquiry was therefore abandoned.

Reason for Separation: Since it has always been company policy for each employee leaving the company to be given an 'Exit Interview' by either the Personnel Manager or the appropriate Departmental Manager, details of the reasons for departure were available although these had never previously been analysed by the company. To carry out this study, the Personnel Manager at each hotel was asked to record the reason for separation of each employee using the coding system suggested by Wasmuth and Davis which is presented as Figure 8.2.

8.2.10 The Research Objectives

The following three linked analyses of Labour Turnover, recommended by Rice, Hill and Trist (ibid), Price (ibid) and Mars et al (ibid), were carried out on all the employees leaving each hotel, by department, as well as by job classification, during the 3½ year period, from January, 1982 until June, 1985, inclusive:

(i) The Labour Turnover Rate

This measure focuses on the separation rate; in this study, on the number of employees who left a particular department during the prescribed period, expressed as a percentage of the average number of members in the focal department during the same period. This data was then analysed using the Wasmuth and Davis matrix, described above as Figure 8.2.

(ii) The Survival Rate

This measure of the rate at which new members of staff remained in employment is presented as a survival curve for the respective functional areas over a specified period.

(iii) The Average Length of Employment

The term 'Length of Service' is preferred by Price (ibid) because it can be utilised to embrace both work organisations and voluntary associations but, since the latter form of communality is irrelevant here, the term 'Length of Employment' will be used instead. Not only does the latter accurately define the duration of the work activity of hotel employees, but the term 'service' has a different connotation in the industry; and normally refers to the work performed in meeting the needs of guests. The Average Length of Employment is used here in an identical way to that found in the literature and is the measure of the length of employment for each member who left the organisation during the specified period.

The results of the analyses presented below are focused on the main functional areas, the different departments, and the different classifications of employees, in the London and the Coastal hotels.

8.3. THE CRUDE AND AMENDED LABOUR TURNOVER ANALYSES

Although company records were computerised in 1982, some anomalies

were discovered which had to be removed to ensure that the hotels were being compared over the same 3½ year period and data was amended in two ways to ensure that only manpower flows in and out of the company were being studied throughout the survey period; firstly, by removing all records of members who had joined and left the company prior to January, 1982; and secondly, by removing the entries for staff who were employed for less than twenty hours per week, because their conditions of employment were not found to be treated in a standardised way throughout the company; in fact, some of these employees were classified as either 'permanent', 'part-time', ' temporary', 'on call', or as 'fixed-contract' staff, depending on 'ad hoc' arrangements within the different hotels. The 'crude' Labour Turnover is summarised below and the Amended Labour Turnover Analysis is summarised in Table 8.1.

(i) The Overall Organisation

A total of 6,033 accessions were recorded, of which there were 4,026 separations (69.7 per cent) leaving 1,827 members still employed at the end of the review period. Summaries of the Total Annual Turnover and the Matrix Analysis of Exit Interviews for staff leaving the nine hotels are presented in Tables 8.2, 8.3 and 8.4.

(ii) The Focal Hotels

There were 536 accessions in the Coastal hotel, of which 382 separations occurred (70.9 per cent) leaving a total of 154 members including 28 part-time Banqueting staff still employed at the end of June, 1985. The Matrix Analysis of the Exit Interviews is presented as Table 8.5. Similarly, there were 757 accessions at the London hotel, resulting in 572 separations, or 75.6 per cent, leaving a total of 185 members including 46 part-time and Agency employees still employed at the end of the review period. The Matrix Analysis of the Exit Interviews is presented as Table 8.6. The turnover data for both hotels is regrouped under the six job classifications in Table 8.7.

8.3.1. Functional Areas/Departments

As a decision had been taken to replicate the Wasmuth and Davis (ibid) methodology, the various departments and sections in each hotel were grouped under the following five functional headings. A complete match was impossible, however, as there was no separate Accounting function in any hotel, for example, so all the related sections and departments were grouped under the Administration Functional Area instead:

Functional Area	Department
Administration	Management, Administration, Sales and Security.
Engineering	Maintenance.
Front Desk	Porters, Reception, and Telephone Switchboard.
Food and Beverage	Kitchen, Restaurant, Coffee Shop, Room Service, Bar, Banqueting, Porters, Staff Canteen, Terrace Cafe/Disco, Kitchen Stewards.
Housekeeping	Housekeeping, Laundry and Pool.

Summaries and Matrix Analyses of Turnover in the various departments in the focal hotels are presented as Tables 8.8, 8.9 and 8.10.

(1) Administration Departments

620 accessions were recorded across the whole organisation, of which there were 372 separations, leaving 248 members still employed at the end of the review period. There were 43 accessions in the Coastal hotel, resulting in 26 separations, leaving 17 members still employed at the end of June, 1985. 74 accessions were recorded at the London hotel, of which there were 51 separations, leaving 23 members still employed at the end of the review period.

The average Amended Labour Turnover at the London hotel during the 3½ year period was 65.8 per cent/annum and was 1.35 times higher than the average recorded at the Coastal hotel, of 48.7 per cent/annum, during the same period. The main reason for Turnover in the London hotel was due to members resigning to make professional changes. The other two main reasons for Turnover were due to transfer/promotions to other hotels, or to changes in home life due to pregnancies. Just under half of this Turnover at the Coastal hotel was due to transfer/promotions to other hotels within the organisation. The joint major cause of Turnover along with transfer/promotions was due to members quitting to take up better job offers from other companies.

(ii) Engineering Departments

A total of 128 accessions was recorded throughout the company, of which there were 62 separations, leaving 66 members still employed at the end of the review period. There were nine accessions in the Coastal hotel, of which there were only two separations, leaving seven members still employed at the end of June, 1985. Similarly, there were ten accessions in the London hotel, of which three separations occurred, leaving seven members still employed at the end of the review period.

The lowest Amended Turnover at both hotels, ie. 8.2 per cent/annum at the Coastal hotel and 12.2 per cent/annum at the London hotel, occurred within this department and the perceived reason for the occasional separations was due to better job offers in all cases.

(iii) Front Office Departments

There was a total of 750 accessions across the company, of which there were 502 separations, leaving 248 members still employed at the end of the review period. Of these, there were 65 accessions at the Coastal hotel, of which there were 42 separations, leaving 23 members still employed at the end of June, 1985. Meanwhile, there were 114 accessions at the London hotel, of which 79 separations occurred,

leaving a total of 35 members still employed at the end of the review period.

The average Amended Turnover at the London hotel was 64.5 per cent/annum and was 1.23 times higher than the average Turnover at the Coastal hotel which was 52.2 per cent/annum during the review period. Nearly 40 per cent of the separations at the London hotel were due to professional changes. A further reason for separations was due to transfers/promotions to other hotels within the company. In contrast, the main reason for Turnover at the Coastal hotel was due to better job offers from other companies. The second main reason for separations was due to the termination of temporary contracts of employment.

(iv) Food and Beverage Departments

A total of 2,761 accessions was recorded throughout the company, of which there were 1,939 separations, leaving 823 members still employed at the end of the period. There were 254 accessions at the Coastal hotel and 189 separations, leaving a total of 65 members still employed at the end of June, 1985. Similarly, there were 264 accessions and 192 separations at the London hotel, leaving 72 members still employed at the end of the review period.

The average Amended Turnover at the Coastal hotel was 83.0 per cent/annum and was 1.08 times higher than the average Turnover at the London hotel which was 76.2 per cent/annum during the review period. More than half of the separations at the London hotel were due to inadequate pay/benefits, dissatisfaction with working hours/conditions and better job offers from other companies. The next main reason for separations was due to the termination of contracts of employment. Over 40 per cent of the Turnover at the Coastal hotel was also classifiable as 'Avoidable' and 'Unplanned' and the major reason for separations was due to better job offers from other companies. A further important reason for Turnover was due to professional changes.

(v) Housekeeping Departments

A total of 1,774 accessions was recorded across the company of which there were 1,295 separations, or 73.0 per cent, leaving 479 members still employed at the end of the period. Of these, 165 accessions occurred at the Coastal hotel, resulting in 123 separations, or 74.5 per cent, leaving 42 members still employed at the end of June, 1985. Meanwhile, 295 accessions were recorded at the London hotel, of which there were 247 separations, or 83.7 per cent, leaving 48 members still employed at the end of the review period.

The average Amended Turnover at the London hotel was 142.4 per cent/annum and was 1.73 times higher than the average Turnover at the Coastal hotel which was 82.0 per cent/annum during the review period. The major reasons for Turnover at the Coastal hotel were due to dissatisfaction with working hours/conditions and the employee perceiving that he/she was not matched to the job. Furthermore, just over one-quarter of the separations were due to professional changes (viz. transfers of husbands who were in the armed services) and other changes in home life. Over 40 per cent of the Turnover at the London hotel was due to members quitting their jobs at short notice, because of inadequate pay and benefits, dissatisfaction with working hours and better job offers. Approximately one-quarter of the separations were due to resignations, brought about by professional changes and family relocations. The remaining separations were due to dismissals due to absenteeism, violation of company rules and a 'failure to fit in' to the working environment.

Further details of the Amended Turnover in the various departments in both hotels is presented as Table 8.2.

8.4. SURVIVAL RATES AND SURVIVAL CURVES

8.4.1. Survival Rates

The data was also analysed to determine the incidence of members who

survived up to 3, 6, 12, 18, 24, 30, 36 and 42 months of employment in the different hotels. The results of this analysis are summarised as follows:

(i) The Overall Organisation/The Focal Hotels

The data is presented in Table 8.11.

(ii) Functional Areas

The data referring to the five functional areas in the two focal hotels is presented as Tables 8.12, 8.13, 8.14, 8.15 and 8.16, respectively.

(iii) Individual Departments

Details of the Survival Rates in the different departments in each hotel are presented in Tables 8.17 and 8.18.

8.4.2. Survival Curves

The Survival Rate data referred to above for all the functional areas has been plotted as Survival Curves which are presented as Figures 8.2, 8.3, 8.4, 8.5, 8.6, 8.7 and 8.8, respectively.

8.5. THE 'INDUCTION CRISIS' PERIOD

According to Graham (1976), "Survival Rates always show that the tendency for employees to leave is greatest during their early weeks with the company". This viewpoint was widely held by various hotel personnel managers within the company, who referred to a tendency amongst some low-status employees in the Food and Beverage and Housekeeping departments to accept jobs and then give them up at "short notice", often without any explanation. This form of Turnover is usually described as occurring during the 'Induction Crisis' period in Personnel and Manpower Studies literature, but it is worth noting that there is an alternative explanation for its occurrence; namely, that some employers tend to exacerbate the 'Induction Crisis' by

terminating unsuitable staff before thirteen weeks of employment have elapsed, to avoid having to issue legally-binding contracts of employment. It should be added, however, that this alternative explanation was almost universally rejected by the hotel personnel managers as inapplicable in their respective hotels.

Mars et al (ibid) classify the hotels in the Hill (ibid) study as 'Bad' or 'Better' units, according to the percentage of staff who left their jobs within three months, the annual Labour Turnover, and the percentage of staff who were still employed after one year. Their data, as well as that obtained at the Coastal and London hotels and all the hotels in this study, is presented below for comparative purposes:

	Bad	Better	Coastal	London	All Hotels in Sample			
Criterion	Units	Units	Hotel	Hotel	Min.	Max.	Mean	Range
% staff leaving within 3 months	73	21	27.1	34.9	15.0	36.7	27.5	21.7
% Annual Turnover	222	28	64.7	89.7	56.5	89.7	69.7	34.2
% Staff employed after 12 months	39	82	51.7	45.3	39.7	71.8	52.3	32.1

The 'Induction Crisis' data is also presented in the Survival Curves, shown in Figures 8.2 to 8.8 inclusive.

8.6. CHANGES IN STAFF ESTABLISHMENTS IN THE FOCAL HOTELS

8.6.1. Separations After the First Communication Audit

(i) Coastal Hotel

A total of 109 members left the Coastal hotel during the fourteen months that elapsed between the end of the first and the second Communication Audits. The Amended Labour Turnover was reduced to 83 members, after

part-time staff were excluded, of which 55 members participated in the first Audit, and six were transferred to other hotels within the organisation. Details of the remaining 49 separations are summarised by both Job Classification and Functional Area in Table 8.19.

(ii) London Hotel

A total of 160 members left the hotel in the twelve month period between the first and second Communication Audits, but this total was amended to 140 separations after part-time staff entries were deleted. Of these, only 47 members had been available for interview during the first Audit and seven of these employees had either been transferred to other hotels within the company, or else were students on Industrial Placement. Details of the remaining 40 separations are summarised by Job Classification and Functional Area in Table 8.19.

8.6.2. Separations After the Second Communication Audit

(i) Coastal Hotel

A total of 164 members left the hotel during the fifteen month period that elapsed between the end of the second Communication Audit and June, 1985. This Labour Turnover was analysed in two periods, ie. 1984 and 1985 (6 months). In 1984, an amended total of 145 separations occurred. Of these, 47 separations referred to staff who had taken part in at least one audit and also included three transfers to other hotels within the company. The analysis of the remaining 44 separations is also summarised in Table 8.19.

(ii) London Hotel

A total of 281 separations occurred during the eighteen month period that elapsed between the second Communication Audit and the Attitude Survey which was carried out in 1985; and 230 of these separations referred to full-time employees for the two periods, 1984 and 1985 (6 months). Of these separations, a total of 53 members were interviewed in at least one Communication Audit, of which six employees

had since been transferred to other hotels within the company, leaving 47 separations which are also summarised in Table 8.19.

8.6.3. Staff Retention and New Arrivals Since the First Audit

(i) Coastal Hotel

A total of 126 full-time staff were employed at the start of the second Communication Audit of which 76 were members who had retained their jobs for at least one year and 50 were new members who had joined the company during the current year. The average length of the longer established group was twenty-six months, whereas that of the newcomers was less than three months.

(ii) London Hotel

A total of 140 full-time staff were employed at the start of the second Communication Audit, of which 83 had retained their jobs for at least one year and 57 were new employees who had joined during the current year. The average length of employment of the longer established group was twenty-nine months and that of the newcomers was almost two months.

Further details of the numbers of established and new employees by Functional Area and Job Classification in both hotels are presented in Table 8.19 and the Average Length of Employment by Job Classification is summarised in Table 8.20.

8.7. ADDITIONAL DATA

Additional data was collected on the Age Profiles of Staff leaving the company, the Hourly Rates of Pay for employees in the different Job Classifications, the Average Length of Company Training, as well as the Labour Turnover according to the sex of employees in both hotels during the periods of the replicated Communication Audits. In the case of the Hourly Pay records, it has already been mentioned in Part Two that this data could be misleading because no information was available on the 'tips' and other 'perks' received by employees, particularly in

the Food and Beverage functional areas where staff traditionally rely on these reputedly large sources of unofficial income supplements. Further details of the Additional Data are summarised in Tables 8.21, 8.22, 8.23 and 8.24. It should be noted that, in the case of Table 8.21, anomalies in the average rates of pay of employees in Job Classifications 5 and 6 between the 1982/3 and 1984 studies were discussed with the Personnel Manager, who confirmed that these differences arose because of the departure of higher paid employees in both categories.

8.8. TURNOVER ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

Wasmuth and Davis (ibid) classified the hotels in their study in the 'high-turnover' category if their three-year average was 75 per cent or higher, in the 'average-turnover' category if this average was between 50 and 74 per cent, and in the 'low-turnover' category if the three-year rate was below 50 per cent. In this study, the organisation consists of nine hotels and the average turnover was 70.9 per cent, which fell within the average-turnover category. High-turnover was recorded at two of the hotels and average-turnover was recorded at the remaining seven hotels. Medium-turnover (70.9 per cent) was recorded at the Coastal hotel and high-turnover (75.6 per cent) was recorded at the London hotel.

Turnover at the departmental level in these latter hotels is summarised below:

	Number of Departments	
Turnover	Coastal Hotel	London Hotel
Low	7	8
Medium	4	2
High	9	10
Total	20	20

As with the Wasmuth and Davis study,

High Turnover Departments

% Average Annual Turnover

Department	London Hotel	Coastal Hotel
Pool/Leisure Area	228.6	93.9
Laundry	171.4	82.1
Housekeeping	137.9	81.5
Kitchen Stewards	107.9	126.5
Coffee Shop	105.3	94.7
Terrace Cafe/Disco	57.1	192.9
Staff Canteen	78.6	95.2

(1) The highest incidence of Turnover occurred in the Food and Beverage and Housekeeping departments in both hotels.

(2) Conversely, the lowest incidences of Turnover also occurred in the Engineering, Administration and, to a lesser extent, in the Front Office departments in both hotels.

(3) The Perceived reasons for Turnover also followed a similar pattern and tended to be due to transfers/promotions, professional changes and better job offers, in the case of employees leaving the departments with the lowest separations; and due to inadequate pay and benefits, dissatisfaction with working hours and conditions, as well as professional changes, better job offers, and dismissals due to absenteeism and violation of company rules, etc., in departments with the highest separations.

Following Hill (ibid) and Mars et al (ibid), the following additional findings, which were not investigated in the Wasmuth and Davis study were also found

(4) The Average Length of Employment of members of the departments with the highest Turnover was less than ten months and was also below the average for each of the hotels.

(5) Conversely, the Average Length of Employment of the members of the departments with the lowest Turnover was generally greater than three years in both hotels.

(6) Furthermore, analysis of the Survival Rate and Survival Curves indicated that the 'Induction Period' Survival Rates provided a reliable way of distinguishing between the departments with high and low Turnover; thus, the incidence of separations during the first thirteen weeks of employment in the House-keeping and Food and Beverage departments in both hotels ranged from 26.8 to 48.1 per cent; in contrast to the Administration and Engineering 'low-turnover' departments in which the separation rates during the first thirteen weeks ranged from Nil to 10.8 per cent. Medium-turnover rates were recorded in the Front Desk departments in both hotels, reflected in the separations within the first thirteen weeks which ranged from 18.5 to 20.0 per cent.

(7) The groupings of employees into six job classifications, presented in Table 8.7, indicates that the highest rates of Turnover generally occurred amongst employees in Job Classifications 1, 2 and 3. Similarly, the lowest average length of employment was recorded by employees in these three job classifications, as shown in Table 8.22.

Finally, by extending the analysis of the Turnover data in the next chapter to include Communication and other variables, a more detailed investigation can be undertaken as to whether each hotel is operating an optimum retention strategy which would maintain an adequate supply of experienced managers, supervisors and skilled operatives, who are

able to meet the "goals and targets" of the organisation. There are grounds for thinking that these strategic issues have not been fully considered within the company because not only is there extensive use of Agency and other part-time labour to "correct" for labour turnover, but also according to Wasmuth and Davis (ibid), Turnover is probably more expensive than is generally realised, as they present evidence "showing an estimate of $2,500 as the average cost of employee turnover", based on 1982/3 values. In the context of this study, Turnover at the Coastal hotel has cost the company approximately £450,000, compared with an estimated £750,000 at the London hotel, during the period from 1982 to 1985. Meanwhile, at the corporate level, the estimated total cost of Turnover from nine hotels probably exceeded £5.5 million over this 3½ year period.

NOTE

1. Abe Martin, Wanderings and Diversions, to be Let or Sold, Random House, New York, 1926.

CHAPTER 9 : THE TESTING OF HYPOTHESES AND THE ANALYSIS OF COMMUNICATION NETWORKS

"Oh, Punishment! Dost thou laugh to see how fools are vexed/To add to golden numbers, golden numbers?"

Thomas Dekker (Note 1)

INTRODUCTION

Following Burt (ibid) and Fombrun (ibid), a dyadic strategy was implemented and this meant in practice that the FORTRAN programs were used to eliminate all the unreciprocated perceived links, so that the reciprocated links between respondents in the various Prescribed and Emergent networks could be analysed. The total number of dyadic links for each respondent was then expressed as a ratio of the maximum number possible in each network. The resulting Connectedness ratios for each of the replicated studies at both hotels are presented in Tables 9.1 to 9.16, and comparisons between the frequency distributions appear as Figures 9.1 to 9.4. Relevant statistical analysis could not be undertaken, however, until this data, which consists of proportions within the maximum range of zero to 1.0, was first subjected to an arc-sine transformation, to ensure that the distribution of each set of transformed variables was more nearly normal. The BMDP-79 Biomedical Computer Programs P-series, which Frane and Jennrich (1979) specifically adapted for the ICL-2960 mainframe computer, were used to test the hypotheses presented under Chapter 4.2.1. It will also be noted that various sub-hypotheses have been tested and these are discussed in more detail below. Examples include a Principal Components Multivariate Analysis of data collected on the six job classifications, to establish whether higher correlations occurred between the Connectedness ratios in the Prescribed networks and those in the Friendship and Affect networks; and what impact these relationships had on demographic data collected on the chronological ages of respondents, the ages when their full-time education ceased, and the periods of company training provided. Respondents were next grouped into different technological categories so that intra- and inter-hotel

comparisons could be made, after which they were re-classified as 'stayers', 'leavers' or 'newcomers', according to whether they were employed during the period covered by the replicated field studies, or left, or joined the company in between, so that relationships between the Communication data and Job Retention and Labour Turnover data could be evaluated.

The FORTRAN programs were also used to identify respondents who were 'isolates' as well as those who were members of the 'dominant cliques' in each network. Isolates were classified as individuals who failed to record dyadic links with other respondents in the network, whereas 'opinion leaders' were identified by separating the respondents who interacted most frequently with each other in the Prescribed and Emergent networks. Thus, it was possible to check whether these latter individuals occupied higher status jobs, recorded significantly higher Connectedness ratios, and remained in their jobs longer than the other respondents. Finally, measures of System Connectedness were also calculated to establish whether the two hotels could be distinguished, using either the 'Organisational Governance' or the 'Grid/Group' taxonomies.

9.1. HYPOTHESIS 1 : THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE JOB STATUS OF RESPONDENTS AND THEIR CONNECTEDNESS IN THE COMMUNICATION NETWORKS

This hypothesis assumes that the Connectedness ratios of respondents will increase, according to their job classifications.

Null Hypothesis: There will be no significant differences between the mean Connectedness ratios of respondents in the Information, Goods, Decisions and Friendship networks for each of the six job classifications.

The results of the BMDP uni-variate analysis of the transformed data are presented in Tables 9.17 and 9.18, which show that the F-values range from 4.103 to 36.485 (F-value = 2.29 for 5 degrees of freedom)

and are strongly significant at the 5 per cent level in all cases.

9.1.1. Sub-Hypothesis 1. (i) : The Relationship Between the Job Status of Respondents and the Combined Connectedness Ratios for Both Hotels During the Replicated Studies

This hypothesis assumes that the Connectedness/Job Classification relationship will apply to both studies in the two hotels.

Null Hypothesis: There will be no significant differences between the mean Connectedness ratios and the job classifications of respondents in the combined networks from both hotels.

The data collected from respondents in the Coastal and London hotels was combined for each of the replicated studies and the analysis of the first study is presented as Table 9.19. This shows F-values for the four networks ranging from 14.919 to 50.615, which are highly significant at the 5 per cent level. Similarly, the analysis of the data from the replicated study, presented in Table 9.20 shows F-values ranging from 9.508 to 43.615, and these are also highly significant at the 5 per cent level.

9.1.2. Sub-Hypothesis 1. (ii) : The Relationship Between the Status of Respondents and the Prescribed and the Friendship Networks

This hypothesis assumes that the Connectedness/Job Classification will apply to all networks and not merely to the Prescribed networks.

Null Hypothesis: Connectedness ratios in the Prescribed networks will not be positively related to those in the Friendship networks for respondents in each job classification.

Previous hypotheses testing consisted of the uni-variate analyses of means whereas a multi-variate analysis is employed here, which compares the six job classifications in both hotels at the different times by computing the correlations between the Connectedness ratios

of respondents in the Prescibed networks and those in the Friendship networks. Results are presented in Tables 9.21 to 9.27, inclusive, and may be summarised as follows:-

Job Classification 1 : The importance of personal friendships between these respondents was apparent from the replicated studies at both hotels. Thus, higher correlations occurred between the mean Connectedness ratios in the Friendship network and in the Prescribed networks, than within the latter networks, during the first Coastal study and, apart from the correlation between the Information and Goods networks, during the replicated study as well. The observed isolated nature of the work done by these employees was confirmed during the first London study, when negative correlations were recorded between data from the Information Network data and the other three networks, otherwise Friendship and Goods network data, but not Friendship and Decisions data, were highly correlated. Nevertheless, in the replicated London study, the highest correlation occurred between data in the Friendship and the Decisions networks, which probably reflected attempts by the Executive Housekeeper to reduce the number of formal room inspections by Floor Supervisors. Friendship and Information network data were highly correlated, whereas Goods and Friendship data were negatively correlated.

Job Classification 2 : The importance of friendship ties was more pronounced during the first Coastal study and higher correlations occurred between the Friendship data and the other networks, than between the Prescribed networks. High correlations also occurred between Friendship and the other networks data during the replicated study, except for the Decisions network which was weakly correlated with the Friendship data. Friendship data was strongly correlated with Information network data in both London studies, but weakly correlated with Goods network data in both cases. Finally, Friendship and Decisions network data were only weakly correlated in the replicated study.

Job Classification 3 : Friendship ties were weakly correlated with the other network data during the first Coastal study and during both studies at the London hotel. A striking change emerged during the replicated Coastal study when the highest correlation occurred between the Information and Friendship network data and the Goods and Friendship data were also highly correlated. The reasons for these changes are not known but they probably arose through several factors, including greater cohesion between 'surviving' staff, coupled with attempts by both the Executive Chef and the Chief Engineer to improve morale in the Kitchen and Maintenance departments. No comparable improvement occurred at the London hotel, where Friendship ties were more weakly correlated with the other networks in the first study than the correlations between these latter Prescribed networks. A similar trend occurred in the replicated study, except that the correlation between the Information and Friendship networks data was significant.

Job Classification 4 : Friendship links were negatively correlated with Information network data and very weakly correlated with the other networks during the first Coastal study; and this latter trend was repeated during the second study, except that the Decisions and the Friendship networks data were significantly correlated. In contrast, the Information and Friendship networks data were very highly correlated in the two London studies, although Friendship network data was less strongly, or else, very weakly correlated with the other networks in both studies.

Job Classification 5 : Significant correlations occurred between the Friendship and the other networks data in both Coastal studies, except for the Goods and Friendship networks in the replicated study, which were only weakly correlated. Similarly, Friendship and the Prescribed networks data were highly correlated in the first London study yet, surprisingly, weakly correlated in all cases during the replicated study. The precise reason for these differences is unknown, but was probably due to staff changes in between the two studies.

Job Classification 6 : Friendship and the Prescribed network data were only weakly correlated during both Coastal studies, with the exception of the Information network which was highly correlated with the Friendship network data during the replicated study. If anything, the Friendship/Prescribed networks relationships were even weaker in both London studies and either very low, or even negative, correlations were recorded between Friendship and the Information, Goods and Decisions network data.

Combined Networks

Examination of the multiple correlations in Table 9.27 indicates that many of the distinctions discussed above disappear in the analysis of the combined Coastal networks, in which Friendship, Information and Goods data in the overall network were significantly correlated, but Friendship and Decisions data were only weakly correlated. Similarly, Friendship and the other Prescribed networks data were significantly correlated in the first London study, although only Friendship and Information network data were significantly correlated in the replicated study at this hotel. Although, the impact of demographic data on the various networks is discussed below, it is noteworthy that variables such as the age of respondents, the age when their full-time education ceased, the period of training provided by the company, and the length of employment in months were either negatively, or weakly, correlated with the Information, Goods, Decisions and Friendship networks data in the replicated studies at both hotels.

9.1.3. Hypothesis 1. (iii) : The Relationship Between Demographic Data and the Status of Respondents

Null Hypothesis: The job classification, the age of the respondent, the age when full-time education ceased, and the period of company training will not be related.

The results of the BMDP uni-variate analysis are presented in Tables 9.28 and 9.29, which show that the F-values for the mean periods of

company training range from 3.128 to 6.706 and are strongly significant in all cases. Significance is less pronounced, however, for the mean ages when the full-time education of respondents ceased and these F-values range from 2.329 to 3.999. Finally, the differences between the mean (chronological) age of respondents and their job classifications were marginally significant in the replicated studies at the Coastal hotel (F-values = 2.015 and 2.634), but were far from significant in both studies at the London hotel (F-values = 0.945 and 0.523).

9.1.4. Conclusions

Not only were the mean Connectedness ratios in all four networks generally hierarchically orientated towards the higher status respondents in the replicated studies at both hotels, but this trend also applied in those cases when the combined Coastal and London data was analysed. This finding was not expected to occur at the London hotel, where numerous ethnic groups were well established in lower status jobs, and this reservation is reflected in the analysis of the Friendship network in the first London study when Job Classification 6 respondents (ie. senior management) recorded the fourth-lowest mean Connectedness ratios.

Connectedness in the Friendship networks was more a characteristic of the limited communication activity of Job Classification 1 and 2 employees than amongst higher status respondents in both hotels. Connectedness in the Friendship, Information and Goods networks was more consistently correlated across all the Job Classifications in at least one, if not both, of the studies at each hotel than the Friendship and Decisions network data which, as expected, were more weakly correlated in the analysis of the combined networks for each hotel.

More predictably the analysis of the demographic data confirmed that longer periods of company training were provided for respondents in the higher status positions as, according to evidence from lower status employees, company policy on staff training was not always implemented

in both hotels. It may also be concluded that the age when full-time education ceased was higher on average for higher status than for lower status employees. Finally, respondents in higher status jobs were generally older than the lower status employees at the coastal hotel, but there were no significant differences at the longer established London hotel, where a high proportion of the lower status staff had been employed for over five years, and some for more than ten years.

9.2. HYPOTHESIS 2 : THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN CONNECTEDNESS AND TECHNOLOGY

This hypothesis states that Connectedness will be related to Technology and, following Roberts et al's suggested hypothesis (Chapter 2, page 39), as many of the jobs as possible in both hotels were grouped under Craft, Routine, Non-Routine and Engineering Technology variables, as proposed by Perrow (ibid) in Figure 2.6. In fact, it was possible to classify most respondents in both hotels into the following Technology groups:-

Technology		Operations	Job Classification
Routine		Housekeeping/Laundry Staff and Stewards	1
Craft	(i)	Coffee Shop/Bar and Rooms Staff	2
	(ii)	Kitchen Staff	3
Engineering		Maintenance Staff	3
Non-routine	(i)	Junior Administration	3
	(ii)	Administration Supervisors	4
	(iii)	Reception Staff	5
	(iv)	Senior Management	6

Null Hypohesis: There will be no significant differences in the Connectedness ratios of respondents in the various Technology groupings.

The results of the BMDP uni-variate analysis are presented in Tables 9.30 and 9.31 and, for the transformed Prescribed networks, the Information F-values range from 3.830 to 20.012, those for the Goods networks range from 2.081 to 12.661, whereas the Decisions F-values range from 6.810 to 18.197, which are all significant and support the hypothesis. Although it was not intended to extend the hypothesis to include the Friendship networks data, it is worth noting that, with the exception of the replicated Coastal study, significant differences also occurred between these mean Connectedness ratios and the various Technology groupings of respondents.

9.2.1. Sub-Hypothesis 2. (i) : Connectedness will be Positively Related to Technology on an Inter-Hotel Basis

If data from each of the separate Coastal and London hotels studies is combined, it is then possible to test whether the intra-hotel comparisons referred to under Hypothesis 2 can be extended on an inter-hotel basis.

Null Hypothesis: There will be no significant differences in the Connectedness ratios of respondents in the various Technology groups during the initial and replicated studies in both hotels.

The BMDP analysis for the replicated studies at the Coastal and London hotels appears in Table 9.32, which shows F-values ranging from 16.483 to 28.842 in the Prescribed networks, compared with 12.330 in the Friendship network in the initial study; all of which are strongly significant and support the sub-hypothesis. Similarly, the analysis of the data collected in the replicated studies at both hotels results in F-values ranging from 4.525 to 18.025 in the Prescribed networks, compared with 4.258 in the Friendship network, which are also significant and support the hypothesis.

9.2.2. Conclusions

The testing of the two hypotheses indicated a strong correlation

between the incidence of reciprocated exchanges and the increasing technological complexity of the tasks carried out by respondents in both hotels during the initial and the replicated field studies. These findings supported independent observations that were recorded during the face-to-face interviews with staff; namely, that low skilled employees, such as chambermaids, public area cleaners and kitchen porters spent more hours working alone than, say, waiters, who also operated less frequently in groups than staff in other craft, engineering and non-routine administrative jobs, such as chefs, fitters, receptionists, administrative staff and managers.

9.3. HYPOTHESIS 3 : THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN CONNECTEDNESS AND THE LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT

This hypothesis states that Connectedness will be positively related to an individual's length of employment.

Null Hypothesis: There will be no significant differences betweeen Connectedness ratios and the lengths of employment of respondents.

9.3.1. The Testing of the Null Hypothesis on the Six Job Classifications in the Replicated Studies at Both Hotels

The BMDP analysis of the data is summarised in Table 9.33 and shows F-values of 5.597 and 6.728 in the replicated studies at the Coastal hotel, which are strongly significant and support the hypothesis, compared with F-values of 0.614 and 0.645 in the two studies at the London hotel, which are not significant and refute the hypothesis.

9.3.2. The Testing of the Null Hypothesis on the Respondents Within the Various Technology Groups at Both Hotels

The BMDP analysis of this data is summarised in Table 9.34 and shows F-values of 2.297 and 2.921 in the replicated studies of the lengths of employment of the various Technology groups at the Coastal hotel, which are significant and support the hypothesis, compared with the F-values of 1.523 and 1.516 in the two studies at the London hotel, which are not significant and therefore do not support the hypothesis.

9.3.3. Comparisons Between 'Stayers' and 'Leavers'

In view of the findings of the analysis of the Connectedness ratios and the length of employment of the respondents, a further hypothesis worth testing is whether the respondents who stayed in employment recorded significantly higher Connectedness ratios than those who left before the replicated study was completed in each hotel.

Null Hypothesis: There will be no significant differences between the Connectedness ratios of respondents who stayed and those who left their employment during the period that preceded the replicated studies in each hotel.

Comparisons between the 'Stayers' and 'Leavers' at both hotels are summarised in Table 9.35 and analysis of the Coastal data shows significant F-values of 3.973 in the Information network, 3.273 in the Decision network and 4.860 in the Friendship network; which all support the hypothesis. The F-value is 1.864 for the Goods Network, however, which is not significant. In contrast, the F-values on the London data are 1.110 in the Information network, 0.194 in the Goods network, 2.268 in the Decisions network, and 2.367 in the Friendship, which are only significant in the latter two cases. Table 9.36 shows that 'stayers' were significantly older (F = 4.312) than 'leavers' at the Coastal hotel but that there were no significant differences in terms of education, training or the period of employment, although the age (F = 18.184), educational age (F = 3.177) and period of employment (F = 21.695) of 'stayers' were significantly higher than that of leavers at the London hotel.

9.3.4. Comparisons Between 'Stayers' and 'Newcomers'

At the time of the replicated study in each hotel, the workforce consisted of staff who had been employed at least since the initial study, as well as those who had joined the company during the intervening period. A reasonable hypothesis would be to test whether these 'Stayers' recorded significantly higher Connectedness ratios than

the 'Newcomers' who had joined the company during the previous year. Comparisons between these two categories of respondents are summarised in Table 9.37 and show F-values of 5.491 in the Information, 6.487 in the Goods, 3.325 in the Decisions, and 38.740 in the Friendship networks, which are significant and support the hypothesis. Similarly, in the London hotel, the F-values equals 6.988 in the Goods, 9.954 in the Decisions and 3.612 in the Friendship networks which, again, are all significant and support the hypothesis, however, the F-value is 1.708 for the Information network which is not significant and therefore refutes the hypothesis. Table 9.38 shows that 'stayers' were significantly older (F = 2.560) and, not surprisingly, were employed for a longer period (F = 21.299) than 'Newcomers' at the Coastal hotel; however, apart from the expected difference in the period of employment (F = 13.708), there were no other significant demographic differences between 'stayers' and 'newcomers' at the London hotel.

9.3.5. Conclusions

The findings from the Coastal studies indicate that significantly more communication activity occurred amongst higher status respondents, who were older and remained employed in technologically more complex jobs, than the other respondents who either left or joined the organisation before the survey was replicated. In contrast, the communication activity of higher status employees at the London hotel was not significantly different, nevertheless surviving respondents received more full-time education, were older, employed for longer periods, and were more active in the Decisions and Friendship networks, but not the Information and Goods networks, than those who left; and they also dominated all but the Information network, compared with new employees who joined during the following year. These findings suggest that an 'autocratic' form of Organisational Governance was more likely to operate in the Coastal hotel, whereas a 'federalist' form was more probable in the London hotel because networks were dominated by lower status, long-serving respondents from various ethnic groups who were employed in supervisory and junior managerial positions.

9.4. HYPOTHESIS 4 :

Since the inverse relationship between Length of Employment and Labour Turnover assumptions, ie. the longer staff are employed on aggregate the lower the annual Labour Turnover, no empirical analysis was considered to be necessary.

9.5. HYPOTHESIS 5 : CONNECTEDNESS WILL BE INVERSELY RELATED TO TURNOVER

The rationale for this hypothesis is that higher average Connectedness ratios in each network would be associated with lower Labour Turnover for each job classification in both hotels.

Kendall's Tau was used to test the hypothesis because this statistic, which is summarised in Note 2, gives greater flexibility than Pearsonian or Spearman measures of correlation, by permitting both linear and non-linear measures of association to be calculated within the range of -1 to 1. Mean Connectedness ratios and Labour Turnover were analysed for each Job Classification, by combining the data from both hotels for each of the four networks. This analysis was repeated at Times, T1 and T2, and the findings are presented in Table 9.39. Negative Kendall's Tau values were obtained in all cases, indicating an inverse relationship between Connectedness and Turnover. Tau values greater than -0.3624, at the 5 per cent level when 'n' = 12, are required for the hypothesis to be confirmed and, in the initial Time T1 study, these were recorded in the Information, Goods and Decisions networks, confirming the hypothesis for the Prescribed networks in both hotels, but refuted in the Friendship network (Tau = -0.0756). In the replicated studies, the hypothesis was also refuted in the Information, Decisions and Friendship networks, but confirmed in the Goods network (Tau value = -0.5758). Disparities were probably due to the high incidence of Turnover amongst Job Classification 5 respondents, who were active in each Communication network in both studies, whereas lower-status staff were increasingly active in these networks in the replicated studies. This topic is reappraised in Chapter 10.

9.5.1. Sub-Hypothesis 5. (i) : Average Length of Employment will be Positively Related to Mean Connectedness for Each Job Classification

Kendall's Tau test statistic was also used to compare the average Length of Employment data, summarised in Table 8.20, and the mean Connectedness data for each Job Classification, so that tests could be carried out on an inter-hotel basis for each network in the Times, T1 T2, studies. The results presented in Table 9.39 show strongly significant Kendall's Tau values at the 5 per cent level in both the Prescribed and Emergent networks in the replicated inter-hotel studies; even though, in the case of Job Classification 5 respondents, lower average lengths of employment were recorded than for Job Classification 4 staff, who were less active in each Communication network in both studies at the London hotel and in the Time T2 study at the Coastal hotel.

9.5.2. Sub-Hypothesis 5. (ii) : Average Pay will be Positively Related to Mean Connectedness for Each Job Classification

The Kendall's Tau values, relating to the Average Pay data shown in Table 8.22, summarised in Table 9.40, are strongly significant for the four networks in the Time T1 inter-hotel study, despite Job Classification 3 and 4 respondents recording higher average Connectedness ratios than Job Classification 4 and 5 employees, respectively, whereas the Tau values refuted the Hypothesis in all networks during the replicated inter-hotel studies. This probably occurred because anomalous mean Connectedness ratios were recorded by Job Classification 2 respondents at the London hotel. It has already been noted, however, that the average Pay data does not take earnings from 'tips' into account and the results of these analyses must therefore be viewed as inconclusive.

9.6. THE ANALYSIS OF CLIQUES

The concept of the Clique (ie. "a sub-system whose elements interact with each other relatively more frequently than with other members of the communication system") was introduced in Chapter 4.6.2. to analyse Communication Networks at the level at which the individuals and the dyads are linked with the overall system. It follows that any clique

consists of a minimum of three members and, if a focal member A interacts with individuals B, C and D etc., who may or may not interact with each other, then varying degrees of integration may be achieved within the different cliques. Rogers and Kincaid (op cit) suggest that the Average Group Connectedness index (ie. "the degree to which the average member is dyadically linked to other individuals in the clique") and the Group Connectedness index (ie. "the degree to which the cliques in a system are dyadically linked to each other") are reliable measures of the degree of integration between different cliques or systems. For example, a completely interlocking network would have an average integration value of 1.0, whereas a completely radial network would have a value of zero. An obvious way of using these measures would be to compare the integration values for the specified departments, focusing on the Prescribed networks, so that the efficacy of the formal information flows within both hotels may be assessed. Summaries of the Average Group Connectedness and Group Connectedness ratios for the Information, Goods and Decision networks in both hotels are presented in Tables 9.41 to 9.56 inclusive. There is a problem with this analysis, however, as comparisons between cliques, unequal in size, are not discussed in the literature. Statistical analysis was attempted but abandoned because, whereas the employment of three or more people in each department in both hotels meant that comparisons between cliques were feasible, it was found in practice that all the ratios were skewed in favour of the small departments employing up to six members. It was therefore concluded that if authentic cliques were to be established, then the prior grouping of respondents into specified departments should be abandoned; and the search for cliques would have to be based on the analysis of each transaction in the Prescribed and Emergent networks, so that 'isolates' and 'opinion leaders' could be identified at the system-level in both organisations.

9.7. ISOLATES AND OPINION LEADERS

9.7.1. Isolates

Isolates are individuals without any dyadic connectedness to the other

individuals in a system. Respondents with a zero Connectedness score in the Prescribed and Emergent networks in both hotels are summarised in Tables 9.57 to 9.60, inclusive, and it should be noted that 75 and 85 per cent of the isolates in the replicated studies at the Coastal hotel are employed in Job Classifications 1 and 2, compared with 81 and 61 per cent from these two Job Classifications in the two studies at the London hotel.

9.7.2. Opinion Leaders

Opinion Leaders are respondents with the highest individual connectedness who are linked to each other in a personal communication network within the overall system and is measured in terms of their involvement either several times per week, daily, or several times daily, in the Emergent networks. Details of the ranked Connectedness ratios of the Opinion Leaders, who entered into reciprocated transactions with at least 10 per cent of the respondents in each hotel, (Rogers and Kincaid, page 174) are presented as Tables 9.61 to 9.64, inclusive. The rankings of Opinion Leaders are comprised of 65 and 72 per cent employees in Job Classifications 3 and 5 in both studies at the Coastal hotel; and of 68 and 76 per cent of respondents in the same job categories in the replicated London hotel studies. The remaining Opinion Leaders were mainly drawn from Job Classifications 6 and 2 employees in all cases. The reciprocated links between these Opinion Leaders appear in Figures 9.5 to 9.28, inclusive, and the resulting Communication networks are presented as Figures 9.29 to 9.40, inclusive.

9.7.3. Additional Hypothesis : The Connectedness Ratios of Opinion Leaders will be Significantly Higher than those of Other Network Respondents

Null Hypothesis: There will be no significant differences between the Connectedness ratios of Opinion Leaders and those of other network respondents.

Comparisons between the two categories of respondent are summarised in Tables 9.65 and 9.66, and these show F-values ranging from 32.164 to 42.600 for Information, Goods, Decisions and Friendship networks in the first Coastal study, compared with F-values ranging from 17.300 to 64.660 for these networks in the replicated study. Similarly, at the London hotel, F-values range from 36.620 to 71.590 for these networks in the first study; and from 8.700 to 60.185 in the replicated study. With the possible exception of the Friendship network in the replicated London study (F-value = 8.70, which is clearly significant), all of these values were strongly significant and give robust support for the hypothesis that the Connectedness ratios of Opinion Leaders would be significantly higher than those of other network respondents.

9.8. AVERAGE SYSTEM CONNECTEDNESS, ORGANISATIONAL GOVERNANCE AND GRID/GROUP TAXONOMIES

Rogers and Kincaid (ibid) employ the concept of Average System Connectedness (ie. "the degree to which the average member of the system is linked to other individuals in the system") as an index of comparisons between the same system at different times, or more than one system at the same or at different times. The rationale for this analytical approach is that the higher the degree of system connectedness, the more rapid the spread or diffusion of transactions throughout the system. The Average System Connectedness formula and the indices for both hotels appear below:

$$\text{Average System Connectedness} = \frac{\text{Number of Communication Links in the System}}{\text{Number of possible Communication Links in the System}}$$

Average System Connectedness Indices

Network	Coastal Hotel		London Hotel	
	Time 1	Time 2	Time 1	Time 2
Information	0.206	0.300	0.221	0.269
Goods	0.114	0.205	0.129	0.139
Decisions	0.122	0.115	0.091	0.082
Friendship	0.159	0.353	0.224	0.310
Prescribed	0.147	0.207	0.147	0.163
Emergent	0.150	0.243	0.166	0.200

With the exception of the Decisions Networks, the above indices were higher in all other networks during the replicated studies in both hotels; and these differences were statistically significant at the 5 per cent level in the Information and Friendship networks in both hotels, but also in the Goods, Prescribed and Emergent networks in the Coastal hotel. Furthermore, differences between the two hotels were not significant, apart from the Decisions network which was significantly more 'active' in the Coastal hotel and the Friendship network which was significantly more 'developed' in the London hotel, during the initial Time T1 study. There was also significantly more 'activity' in the Information, Goods, Decisions and Friendship networks (and, inevitably, in the composite Prescribed and Emergent networks) in the Coastal hotel than in the London hotel during the replicated Time T2 studies. The reasons for these differences, which are further discussed in the following Chapter, were thought to be due to a change in management style which was introduced, following the appointment of a new General Manager, Food and Beverage Manager, and Executive Housekeeper during the year after the initial study was completed.

Although System Connectedness is not discussed in detail by Rogers and Kincaid (ibid), a possible use of this index would be to provide a more objective and comprehensive basis for 'operationalising' the concepts of 'Organisational Governance' and 'Grid/Group', than that proposed by either Fombrun (ibid) or Mars and Nicod (ibid).

The advantage of these taxonomies is that they should provide a theoretical basis for comparing organisations as dynamic systems, which was advocated by Burns and Stalker (ibid), Handy (ibid) and Silverman (ibid) and discussed in Section 2.4. Nevertheless, the problem with the 'Organisational Governance' taxonomy is that it was operationalised by Fombrun (ibid) to meet the requirements of a specific study of a Research and Development laboratory and the model contains several variables which have no bearing on either the specified or observed work practices carried out in the Hotel industry. On the other hand,

the Mars and Nicod (ibid) 'Grid/Group' taxonomy was specially developed for the classification of hotels and has been operationalised in terms of the following characteristics:

'Grid' : Total Reward System, Control of Resources, Work Assessment, Staff Recruitment and Career Progression.

'Group' : Workplace Relations, Work Orientation, Low Collectivism, Individual Contracts and Blame Passing.

What needs to be explored is the degree to which Communication Network Analysis at either the individual, clique and system-levels complements these characteristics, thus allowing differences between the two hotels to be classified in terms of the 'Grid/Group' taxonomy; and this task will be undertaken in the final chapter.

9.9. SUMMARY

The various analyses presented in this chapter generally provide strong, empirically based support for the main hypotheses introduced in Chapter 4.2.1. Thus, status when operationalised as Job Classification, was found to be significantly correlated with mean Connectedness ratios in both intra- and inter-hotel replicated studies. Independent support was provided by the occurrence of strong correlations between Connectedness and the various Technology groupings, which were related to job status in all four networks. These relationships did not always increase with Job Classification in the various networks and higher correlations generally occurred in the Prescribed (ie. Information, Goods and Decisions) networks. Exceptions involving the Friendship networks occurred for Job Classification 1 respondents in both studies; although this finding should not be over-stressed because 'Isolates' were prevalent amongst these employees. Significant correlations also occurred between Job Classifications and the Information and Friendship networks data in at least one study at both hotels, despite indications that managerial staff in Job Classifications 4 and 6 attached less

importance to Friendship ties than to Prescribed networks involvement, although neither group was strongly represented as Opinion Leaders in either hotel. More complex relationships, involving Job Classification, Technology groupings and the average length of employment of respondents, were more significantly correlated at the Coastal hotel and, at the London hotel, case, this anomaly probably reflected the longer periods of employment of various lower-status staff in this older property.

Ongoing comparisons were made between respondents who participated in both studies, ie. the 'Stayers', and those who either left or joined before the initial surveys were replicated. These cohorts were categorised as 'Leavers' and 'Newcomers', respectively. Communication, Job Classification and Demographic data could therefore be compared at Time T1 and Time T2. Tests revealed that the 'Stayers' recorded significantly higher Connectedness in all networks, except for the Information network in one London study, than the 'Leavers' and 'Newcomers'. In terms of the Tavistock (ibid) and Flowers and Hughes (ibid) 'inertia' models of job turnover/retention, there was strong evidence that leavers were more prevalent amongst the lower Job Classifications 1 and 2, who not only recorded higher Labour turnover and remained in employment for short periods, but were also lower paid (excluding 'tips' earned by some Job Classification 2 respondents), and more likely to be 'isolates' than respondents in the higher Job Classifications. 'Opinion Leaders' were more likely to be drawn from these higher status positions and, as an interacting 'dominant clique/ coalition', they recorded very significantly higher Connectedness than all other respondents during the replicated studies in both hotels. Finally, the inductive analysis of aggregated communication data was extended from the individual, dyad and clique, to the total system level, by calculating the Average System Connectedness Index for each network, as a basis for operationalising 'Organisational Governance' and 'Grid/Group' taxonomies which could be used for making comparisons between hotels; and a fuller explication of this analysis is considered in the final chapter.

NOTES

1. Thomas Dekker, Patient Grissel, Act 1, London 1610.

2. Kendall's Tau (T_b) is a correlative measure of the monotone relationship between two ordered variables that compares the number of agreements in the ordering of the indices between pairs of observations with the number of disagreements. (Source: BMDP (5) Statistical Software, Revised Printing Edition, University of California, USA, 1983, p.665).

CHAPTER 10 : RESEARCH CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

"We keep coming back and coming back/To the real: to the hotel instead of the hymns/That fall upon it out of the wind"

Wallace Stevens (Note 1)

INTRODUCTION

Woodford (1968) suggests that the most effective way of indicating competence in a doctoral thesis is by attempting to answer the following two questions: 'What is the problem under investigation?' and 'Why did you select it for study?' In answering the first question, it will be recalled that the central problem was introduced in Chapter One and summarised under two related enquiries that adhere to the traditional 'Theory-Then-Research' perspective in the social sciences; ie. 'Can communication theory be integrated with organisation theory?' and 'What is the relationship between various Communication Network Analysis indices of individual, dyadic, clique and system Connectedness and the problem of high Labour Turnover, as measured in replicated samples drawn from the British hotel industry?'

As to why these enquiries were chosen for investigation, the guiding principle underpinning this field research was eloquently stated by Merton (1957), who insisted on an "empirical science" that...."goes far beyond the passive role of verifying and testing theory...(and)... does more than confirm or refute hypotheses...rather...it initiates... reformulates...deflects and...clarifies theory". Such an approach is long overdue in the field of Organisational Communication research because of a widespread tendency in the past to define a concept as ubiquitous as human communication so narrowly that the resulting body of knowledge could not be reconciled with the longer-established and expanding domain of Organisational theory. It is not intended to restate arguments that were presented in Chapter One, nevertheless attention will be drawn to a broader, logically more acceptable, perspective on human communication that has influenced the study of Organisational Communication, within the related contexts of

Communication Network Analysis and Open Systems theory, to bring about a long-overdue reconciliation with Organisational theory.

Hotels were selected for study not only because there has been a general scarcity of research within the industry, which recorded an average Labour Turnover nearly three times higher than the rest of British industry during 1984, but also because no Communication Network Analysis research that specifically refers to the hotel industry has been published. This has surely been a missed opportunity because, as part of a service-based industry, hotels provide a unique example of an organisational structure which is designed to provide the 'classical' functional activities, described by Gulick and Urwick (1937), as Production, Sales, Accounting, Personnel and Engineering, under one roof, through the activities of fewer than several hundred employees. Because some interaction between employees engaged in various managerial, administrative, supervisory, technical and more simple repetitive tasks, is unavoidable in this context the hotel provides an ideal work-environment for contrasting the Prescribed Communication Network with the formal organisational structure; and for making comparisons with other hotels at different times. Furthermore, in view of the previously-mentioned problem of high Labour Turnover in the industry, replicated studies should also reveal how the members of Prescribed networks are influenced by Friendship and Affective ties and retain their jobs in the Emergent networks as the organisation "renews" itself, by replacing employees who leave, to cope with changes in a turbulent environment. In short, it should be possible to investigate whether 'Isolates' are employees who are more likely to leave the organisation than 'Opinion Leaders', by classifying employees according to the opportunities that arise in their jobs for them to participate more or less frequently in the various Communication networks.

Finally, the following question, surprisingly overlooked by Woodford, also needs to be answered; namely: 'What conclusions can be drawn from the research, as a contribution to existing knowledge?' In reply, it became clear in completing this thesis, that the study of communication

in organisations, using network analysis, is an area of inquiry which has been handicapped by an absence of a coherent theory of Organisational Communication. An attempt has been made to explicate such a theory that can be reconciled with similar developments in Organisational Behaviour and used as a basis for empirical research. Not to have tried to synthesise the two disciplines, by arguing that a suitable theory would emerge, phoenix-like, from the field study, was rejected on the grounds that this approach would only have compounded the confusion that has characterised this area of study for far too long. For example, various writers, including Killworth and Bernard (1976), Porter and Roberts (ibid), Dalton et al (1980) and Rogers and Kincaid (ibid), have criticised previous research for recording data at only a single point in time and for failing to investigate how the network achieved the state depicted in the quantitative analysis. Replicated or longitudinal studies are therefore essential for the following important reasons: firstly, the communication structure identified by network analysis can have little predictive value without some degree of network stability in the system. Secondly, the identification of 'isolates', 'opinion leaders' and 'dominant coalitions' in networks implies that communication plays a crucial role in the development of power relationships in organisations; an inference which can only be investigated fully over time. Thirdly, any ongoing relationship between the communication behaviour of, for example, 'isolates' and 'opinion leaders', on the entry, job retention and labour turnover of the members of an organisation, would also have to be studied at different time intervals. In summarising the attempt to extend existing knowledge in this thesis, attention will first be focused on the contribution to the research methodology; following which, the various communication networks will be analysed and the impact of these on job retention and labour turnover will also be evaluated, then the relationship between Communication and Organisational Behaviour theory will be reviewed, before the practical implications and recommendations arising from the consultancy aspects of this research will be discussed in the closing pages of the chapter.

10.1. CONTRIBUTION TO ORGANISATIONAL COMMUNICATION RESEARCH

The theoretical starting point of this thesis shares common ground with writers such as Anderson and Carlos (ibid) and Pfeffer (ibid) who argue that, although organisations need to be addressed and analysed as relational networks, Communication Network Analysis has emerged as a framework and a paradigm, rather than as an articulate theory, and has so far offered more in the way of promise than fulfilled potential. They adopted this view because of confusion over whether network analysis should merely be used as an elaborate data-gathering and classification technique, or whether it possesses sufficient explanatory power to act as a useful metaphor for the complex interaction that occurs between structure and process in an organisation. It is also contended that powerful theoretical grounds exist for synthesising these two perspectives, providing that the following propositions are included.

Firstly, previous research has been seriously impaired by the tendency to apply a 'Structural-Functionalist' approach towards network analysis, so that data has been evaluated in terms of roles, at the expense of persons, rather than from both standpoints. This has resulted in problems of reification that were predicted by Silverman (ibid) and Cohen (ibid); and led Dalton et al (ibid) to criticise recent research for tending to explore formal structural-communication more frequently amongst managers and supervisors in public-service and similar government-sponsored organisations than in manufacturing and other industrial concerns, for example, which employ a wider range of skilled and unskilled members.

Secondly, it is contended that the 'Structural-Functionalist' approach towards network analysis should be rejected in favour of an Open Systems perspective which, in communication network terms, provides a methodology for dealing simultaneously with a large number of communication exchanges, not just in unitary terms from the standpoint of the 'sender' or the 'receiver', but also at the dyadic, and at more complex clique and system levels of analysis. It follows, in

investigating the extent to which a particular set of persons possesses the characteristics under review, that unless a completely open-ended set of relationships is subsumed, social network 'boundaries' of some sort would need to be designated in terms of the Systems theory perspective. (In practice, network membership was restricted to all full-time employees on the payroll in each of the two hotels at the time when the respective studies were replicated). This step allowed the available instrumental ties between members to be investigated as the motivational basis for any choices and exchanges which were initiated and accepted or rejected by other members. These links were separated from any kinship, ethnic, or other affective ties, which were assumed to comprise the minimal set of culturally defined relationships within a network. The objective was to investigate the degree of correspondence between the instrumental links and the prescribed lines of communication within an organisation. By later combining these instrumental and affective ties, it was also possible to identify what Anderson and Carlos (ibid) call "the network vocabulary of the actors in the networks being studied". Finally, to ensure that a 'closed systems' perspective was avoided, it was also necessary to identify what Kadushin (ibid) describes as the "interstitial links", which the more influential network members established to ensure that they were connected with significant others in the known and unknown environments and were therefore able to adapt to external change.

Thirdly, in epistemological terms, the previous propositions depended on the Inductive approach being adopted which, following Russell (ibid), begins "by looking for the bare vocabulary out of which a system can be constructed", as this approach "would allow logical constructions to be substituted for inferred entities". In practice, this meant that the need to infer the presence of dyadic links from perceived data was eliminated, since each reciprocated link could be calculated from the perceived and received data which was recorded for each individual, enabling him to be linked empirically at the dyadic, clique and system levels with other members of the network. The Empirical approach was

also preferred to the Rationalist perspective because of the logical difficulties associated with the latter position which were discussed under Chapter 1.3.3.

Finally, this progressive linking of individuals with each other at the dyadic, clique and system levels depends on an interactive or exchange perspective being adopted instead of the more conventional linear or mechanistic approach to communication; a view which is rooted in the philosophy of Pragmaticism and the principles of social psychology, as advocated by John Dewey (1896) and George Mead (1934). Thus, Dewey argued that in any analysis of human behaviour, the "total act" has to be acknowledged as the essential fact and context of any explanation. Any distinction between the 'stimulus' and the 'response', or the 'source' and the 'receiver', is therefore superfluous and irrelevant, since both fall within the 'total act' and are relative to how we regard this "unit of behaviour". The Exchange model of communication presented as Figure 1.9 attempts to depict these twin 'phases' of social behaviour inductively for each participant, as the minimum total act, or dyad, from which clique and system levels of analysis can be aggregated within any focal network. It is derived from three classical works in the social sciences; two of which are related, but were written independently of the other; namely, the above-mentioned contributions to social psychology by Dewey (ibid) and Mead (ibid), and the separate analysis by Georg Simmel (ibid), summarised in Chapter 1.5, in which he argued that any communication exchange should be studied from 'within', taking the standpoint of any participant, from 'without', taking the standpoint of a third-party observer; and 'analytically', as a dyadic unit, or units.

Given that relationships in Prescribed and Emergent networks occur between members who are differentiated in organisations in terms of power and affect, access to the internal, interstitial, known and unknown external flows of information in a system would also be influenced by the roles individuals play in an organisational hierarchy,

their access to resources, relative interdependence, proximity to others, as well as their affective relationships. Power relationships between two or more members of a network were analysed by both Simmel (ibid), Homans (ibid) and Blau (ibid), in terms of their action and interaction possibilities and the likely outcomes and pay-offs of these interrelations. Initially, according to Homans (ibid), these would consist of transactions involving the exchange of information, goods and the taking of decisions by one or more members in a Prescribed network, where the established norms, expectations and instrumental role tasks would be carried out by the members. In contrast, the Emergent networks would be characterised by individuals who continuously negotiated and completed their role tasks through affective, or manipulative interaction with other members as the organisation 'renewed' itself over time. Following Mintzberg (ibid), these prescribed role tasks could be grouped into five broad categories, according to the different levels of technology required, through which the members would attempt "to pull the organisation towards different structures".

In the context of this research, six job classifications were introduced to complement the Mintzberg typology and incorporate over fifty different types of prescribed role tasks in the two hotels into a format which could be investigated using Network Analysis. It is contended that this Job Classification typology could not only be used to evaluate more complex hotel organisational structures, such as that presented in Figure 5.1, but would also provide a suitable framework for analysing other 'service' organisations, such as schools, hospitals and garages, where a diverse range of prescribed role tasks are carried out, usually on one site, which all culminate in direct contact with the 'end-users' of the services by some members of the organisation. By focusing on the prescribed and affective communication transactions, this typology would also allow an organisation to be analysed as a dynamic system, rather than in structural-functionalist terms, although it is anticipated that the communication activity of members would be modified or constrained by the level of technology of their prescribed role tasks within the organisation.

According to Baumgartner, Buckley and Burns (ibid) this tendency for the organisation to maintain its characteristic structure is known as 'Morphostasis', which is analogous with the Prescribed network in contrast to the tendency for the structure of the organisation to change or reorganise is known as 'Morphogenesis', which is analogous with the Emergent network. According to Baumgartner et al, these concepts "transcend the debate of 'structure versus process' or 'static versus dynamic analysis' because structure and process are integral parts of a systems analysis of structural stability and change". Dahrendorf (ibid), Burns and Stalker (ibid) and Mary Douglas (ibid) acknowledge the importance of morphostatic forces and morphogenic processes in explicating their respective 'Type A-Type B', 'mechanistic-organic' and 'Grid-Group' typologies of organisation structures. Thus, the Douglas matrix was used to investigate whether network analysis of the data at the clique and system levels provided empirical evidence in support of the Mars and Nicod (ibid) typology for classifying hotels. Similarly, the Burns and Stalker's ideal-typical forms were not only employed to test whether the hotels also displayed 'Organisational Governance' characteristics, as described by Fombrun (ibid), but were also used to modify an earlier model which had been devised to investigate the relationship between communication activity and labour turnover.

The revised version of the Price model of turnover presented as Figure 3.3 hinges on the basic proposition that the rate at which new-comers become connected with existing employees in the Prescribed and Emergent networks influences their eventual retention or departure from an organisation. The assumption that job retention and departure are aspects of an inversely related process was first proposed as an 'inertia' model by Rice, Hill and Trist (ibid), which has since been conceptualised in related matrices, from a job retention perspective by Flowers and Hughes (ibid), and from a labour turnover perspective by Bluedorn (ibid) and Wasmuth and Davies (ibid). Thus, in terms of the Flowers and Hughes matrix, the largest incidences of 'Turn-ons' (ie. those who will stay because they want to) and 'Turn-ons-plus' (ie.

those who will stay because they both want and have to) would have been expected to occur amongst the 'opinion leaders' and staff in the higher Job Classifications in both hotels. At the Coastal hotel, these would have included more senior managers, fewer supervisors and more Front Desk and Kitchen staff than at the London hotel, along with Maintenance engineers and other 'assimilated' employees with mainly similar kinship ties at the Coastal hotel, or membership of the main ethnic minority groups at the London hotel. Conversely, the largest incidences of 'Turn-offs' (ie. those who will stay because they have to) and 'Turn-overs' (ie. those who will leave) would have been expected to occur amongst employees in Job Classification 1 and 2 positions who were typically employed in the Housekeeping and Food and Beverage departments in both hotels.

10.2. CONTRIBUTION TO ORGANISATIONAL COMMUNICATION RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The field study presented in this thesis meets the various methodological requirements stipulated by Porter and Roberts (ibid), who note that only a limited variety of types of organisations have been sampled in earlier research. A subsequent examination of the literature confirms this finding, as the majority of studies have been restricted to exploring formal structural-communication relationships in public-service or government-sponsored organisations rather than in manufacturing or industrial concerns. Thus, this appears to be the first study to be focused on the 'service' sector and the hotel industry, in particular. As mentioned in the Introduction to this chapter, this choice provided scope for undertaking a detailed investigation of the comunication transactions between a relatively small number of people, compared with manufacturing industries, who were required to perform a wide range of diverse tasks, ranging from the routine to the complex, in various interrelated departments which were situated in different parts of the same building. This choice also provided an opportunity for studying the job retention and labour turnover of employees from the standpoint of the degree of their involvement in the various communication networks. Since a reputable investigation of turnover requires data to

be collected at a minimum of two census points and, preferably, in at least two broadly similar organisations for comparative purposes, this research also differs from previous studies, which were either drawn from a single organisation or else failed to make comparisons within and across organisations. For example, staff employed in similar tasks in different hotels could be compared and the impact of stratification on their communication transactions, due to the technological complexity of their jobs, could also be evaluated.

Furthermore, largely as a result of assuming a linear 'top-down' approach to communication, nineteen of the previous twenty-two research programmes were confined to members of management only; and even the rare studies that focused on manufacturing or industrial organisations generally consisted of selective samples drawn from less than one per cent of the total workforce. Otherwise, previous research typically included a scattering of employees from several different units within the same organisation or else all the members from a single small unit; and even the rare studies that focused on manufacturing and industrial organisations were generally based on selective samples of less than one per cent of the total workforce. The crucial point that needs to be made here, as a contribution to Organisational Communication research, is that the managers in one hotel were found to be minimally represented in the Prescribed or Emergent networks, yet this finding would probably have remained hidden had non-managerial staff not been included in a study, which included representative samples of staff from every department in the communication 'audits' that were replicated in both hotels after twelve and fifteen months, respectively. In all, nearly 460 interviews were completed, which adds considerably to the total number referred to by Porter and Roberts, who note that fewer than 100 interviews, in total, were included in sixteen previous studies, whereas the total number of respondents in the twenty-two studies in their review provided less than 1,500 interviews. Most of these studies were also criticised for being 'intra-subject', ie. based on self-reports only, and few inter-subject checks were made between a

minimum of two respondents. Sole reliance on a 'nodal' strategy was rejected in this thesis for reasons which are fully explicated under Section 10.3. Suffice it to say at this juncture that a 'dyadic' strategy, which makes use of 'nodal' data by empirically recording reciprocated links between respondents, other than inferring these links from perceived data only, is regarded as providing a more reliable explanation of how individuals form affiliations with others which may lead to their assimilation as members of an organisation. In adopting this perspective, it was possible to adopt the methodology of five of the previous studies by stating hypotheses in advance, rather than carry out an unfocused exploratory study into possible relationships between the communication activity of individuals and turnover.

Porter and Roberts also identified six types of data collection in their review, most of which were variations of the influential Seashore and Jacobson (1951) 'who-whom' communication matrix technique, which has also been used in this study, but each communication 'audit' was followed by an open-ended interview during which the employee's work attitudes and aspirations, etc., were discussed in private. Efforts were also made to verify reported links by observing the actual communication activities of employees in both hotels. In the case of employees who came into direct contact with hotel guests in the 'public areas', verification consisted of sitting unobtrusively nearby so that randomly selected employee's activities could be observed, whereas staff working in areas such as Housekeeping and Laundry were monitored by working alongside them for periods of ten to twenty minutes. Most of these checks were carried out in the Coastal hotel because insufficient time was generally available once the communication interviews were completed in the London hotel. In an effort to compensate for this discrepancy, an attempt was made to replicate the technique suggested by Lazarfeld et al (ibid) and Davis (ibid) for tracing the spread of known items of information throughout an organisation but this line of inquiry was abandoned after two days for the reasons given under Chapter 4.5.4. In all, although the observations of individual communication activities complemented the data collected during the 'audits' of thirteen randomly chosen

operatives and supervisors, those carried out on five managers suggested these staff tended to exaggerate the frequency of their contacts with other employees. In all, less than 12 per cent of the respondents were monitored and it must be admitted that, however well-intentioned the separate attempts were to verify the communication 'audits' in both hotels, the results were largely inconclusive, however, if anything, this shortcoming placed even greater emphasis on the importance of replicating the communication 'audits' and basing the analysis on the reciprocated links between respondents, for the reasons given above.

10.2.1. Replicated or Longitudinal Studies

Deciding precisely what is meant by a longitudinal study in this context is far from straightforward since, at one level, the very dynamic nature of communication transactions in any organisation is so transitory and fleeting that networks can never be monitored accurately and there is some truth in Rogers and Kincaid's (op cit) assertion that "the plotting of sociometric communication relationships within a system is but an evasive illusion". Recognised data gathering techniques, such as diaries and sociometric audits are, at best, gross generalisations of the communication activity that occurs most frequently in an organisation. Yet without these latter assumptions it would be impossible to conceptualise any system as displaying sufficient reliability, or validity for the concept of Network Stability to be used with confidence.

There is no agreement in the literature about what is meant by a longitudinal study, apart from the obvious minimum requirement that links must be measured at two data-points if an investigation of network stability is to comply with the research-design requirements of the Cattell 'Data-cube'. Yet even this minimum requirement is questionable unless a non-linear data trend is excluded. Rogers and Kincaid (op cit) recommend that a minimum of three data-points is required and, if a time-series analysis is to be completed on the trends in the changes of the network links, data should ideally be

collected at five to seven intervals of time. In practice, however, it was impossible to collect data on all the employees in both hotels at three or more time intervals, because professional commitments and other unavoidable logistical difficulties prevented the researcher from visiting each hotel often enough to keep in step with the rapid turnover of labour in both properties. A compromise was devised, however, which ensured that the communication audits and the relevant labour turnover data for all relevant employees were collected at two data-points over a common two-year period and, since this analysis indicated that 'opinion leaders' displayed a higher probability of retaining their jobs than other employees, the communication activity of these smaller cliques was also monitored on three occasions during the 3½-year period of the Labour Turnover survey, and, finally, at Time T4, during 1986 when progress on the recommendations mentioned later in this chapter was evaluated at a conference for Personnel Managers.

10.3. EVALUATION OF THE COMMUNICATION NETWORK ANALYSIS DATA COLLECTED IN THE FOCAL HOTELS

Without wishing to devalue the important contribution to Organisational Behaviour of Burns and Stalker's analysis of organisational structure into 'mechanistic' or 'organic' ideal-typical forms, it has to be acknowledged that these concepts can be traced back more than a century to the rise of Social Darwinism, in Herbert Spencer's 'Programme of a System of Synthetic Philosophy' (1860) and, more specifically, to the analysis of 'Mechanical and Organic Solidarity' in Emile Durkheim's The Division of Labour' (ibid). It is not the intention here to introduce a discussion of developments in Classical Sociology but, in seeking to relate the Burns and Stalker concepts to the analysis of organisational communication in hotels, it is important to place their ideal-typical forms in a context which corresponds to historical developments in the hotel industry.

Briefly, Durkheim's ideal types are distinguished in his description of Mechanical Solidarity by the prevalence of segmentation, little interdependence, absolute collective authority, rules with repressive

sanctions and the attaching of supreme value to society and its interests as a whole. Conversely, Organic Solidarity is characterised by much interdependence, relatively strong social concern for human interests, room for individual initiative and reflexion and the attaching of supreme value to individual dignity; and equality of opportunity, work ethic and social justice. Furthermore, Organic Solidarity was present in advanced society because, when approached from an evolutionary and historical perspective, its appearance and survival depended on the historical development of the family and, through extended kinship-ties, the clan, which evolved into the village where "men must gradually become attached to their occupational and professional life". The objective was to protect the family as a social, legal and moral institution, as a means of coping with the rights and duties that were sanctioned by the wider society, as an 'organic community'; that is to say, they lived and worked together in relation to the environment and one another as integral parts of a single community. As was noted in Chapter 2.4, Burns and Stalker's singular contribution was to extend this analysis to industrial organisations by providing empirical evidence which showed that these collectivities displayed organic and mechanistic characteristics, either of which might predominate, but which were usually integrated as the organisation adapted to a changing environment.

Turning to the history of the hotel industry in Britain, Medlik and Airey (1978) indicate that the first hotels began to appear in London after 1760 and, in attempting to understand the origins of work practices that still characterise the industry, it is important to note that these early establishments were mostly run by the retired butlers of the "noble houses", or by French chefs who had been in service in this country (Borer, 1972). The links between the organisation of these private hotels and the working procedures in the larger country houses has not been explored thoroughly, but two important characteristics are known; namely, that great emphasis was placed on the division of labour within hotels to produce an increasing

variety of services; and that it was common to recruit employees with close family and kinship ties, many of whom were poorly paid but 'lived in' collectively, where they received food and lodgement 'in kind', ie. in lieu of wages, as a means of reducing labour costs. Thus, Ker (1864) describes the duties of no fewer than nine categories of servants and it was not uncommon for three generations of one family to be employed simultaneously in the larger country houses. Girouard (1971) comments on the specialisations of these servants as follows:

> "These large numbers of people were carefully stratified and subdivided; there were territories reserved for each stratum and territories common to one or more; each territory was subdivided according to the activities that went on in it; this analysis of activities became more and more exact, and more activities were given a separate room".

The growth of the hotel industry during the mid-nineteenth century followed the rapid expansion of the railway-system in Britain and the various Railway Companies responsible for this development were careful to offer a stratified range of services by encouraging a 'family atmosphere' amongst staff and guests, to the extent that, in the latter case, "Single Persons" were not allowed to stay in hotels until the Great Western Railway Company broke with convention in 1854. Similarly, only "Proper Persons" were employed in hotels, which meant that married couples were preferred and most unmarried staff were related to, or recommended by, these senior employees. The work ethic in these establishments was largely that of the "organic community" which was retained well into the present century, following the nationalisation of the old Railway hotels in 1948. By this time, however, competition in the private sector had intensified and the latter hotel companies became highly profitable, due to international expansion, the growth of tourism, and the rapid introduction of new technology. The managers of these hotels adhered to a different less paternalistic work ethic which was based on product-standardisation, ever-increasing efficiency; and the payment of low wages, despite the existence of a Wages Council. Labour turnover rose well above the national average, however, and created serious staffing problems from

the early 1960's onwards, which were met by the recruitment of overseas employees, most of whom were engaged on fixed-term 'seasonal' contracts, nevertheless many were able to find ways of obtaining permanent employment. Meanwhile, attempts to unionise the workforce were successfully resisted, so that British Transport Hotels was the only organisation that formally recognised trades unions between 1948 and 1983, when this 'QUANGO' was sold off to four of the largest companies in the private sector. Shortly after that, the British Government decided not to renew its membership of the International Labour Organisation for a further ten year period and the Wages Council, which Winston Churchill had introduced in 1941 to remove the "unacceptable exploitation of employee's labour", was abolished. At the same time, the total revenue for the industry rose appreciably faster than total consumer spending or retail sales and faster than any other sector of the economy, at an average rate of 34 per cent annum between 1974-85; and is expected to exceed £6 billion during 1986/7.

A sample of two hotels cannot be regarded as representative of the industry, although the age-profile of employees in the Food and Beverage departments in both hotels, most of whom were not yet twenty-five years old, agreed with earlier HCITB (ibid) findings, as did the tendency in the London hotel for employees to carry out jobs other than their prescribed tasks, often without management's approval. Another frequent practice, which no doubt is to be observed in other hotels, resulted in much day-to-day 'business' being settled on an informal basis in gatherings, involving members of the dominant coalitions, which took place either in canteens, bars, leisure areas, over lunch in the restaurant, or in a nearby 'pub' (for supervisors in the London hotel), rather than in formal meetings, in both hotels.

The principal roles of the 'opinion leaders' in these small, close-knit organisations were two-fold; firstly, they assimilated, or modified, any changes prescribed by Head Office or the Hotel senior management, in such a way as to neutralise the 'drift' from the morphogenic (ie.

organic) to a more morphostatic (ie. mechanistic) structure. Secondly, their communication activities were organised so that new employees were either accepted and socialised into carrying out 'acceptable' practices, with the result that 'unacceptable' employees were isolated until they eventually left and could be replaced by staff with similar kinship or ethnic characteristics. Further discussion of the differences between 'opinion leaders' and 'isolates' appears below.

10.3.1. The Power and Influence of Opinion Leaders

A useful way of distinguishing between 'opinion leaders' and 'isolates', which illustrates how the former would exploit the critical resource dependency of other employees, is quoted by Pfeffer (ibid), who provides an apt example drawn from the behaviour of maintenance engineers in Crozier's (1964) study of French tobacco plants, which is of direct relevance to the behaviour of the same group of employees in both hotels; namely, the French maintenance engineers controlled "the one remaining uncertainty confronting the organisation, the breakdown of machinery...(because their capacity)...to cope with uncertainty could not readily be replaced". Thus, work practices were developed which led to new engineers being trained verbally so that, over time, documentation which would have made training easier had disappeared.

Maintenance engineers were found to be prominent 'opinion leaders' at the London and Coastal hotels and exerted power and influence by being responsible for the upkeep of machinery in every department in the hotel, with the possible exception of the General Manager's office. As a group, they were almost ubiquitous and were to be observed on different occasions repairing essential equipment in the restaurants, room service, kitchen and bars, maintaining water-purification and sauna equipment, installing strobe-lighting and hi-fi equipment, repairing the energy-conservation and key-security systems, servicing dishwashing, washing and ironing equipment and repairing showers and televisions in guests bedrooms. They were also reputed to be the mainstays of the unofficial grapevine in the hotel and, according to

some female supervisors, "gossipped like old women". The trade-offs for these 'services' varied with the different departments and, at best, provided these male employees with considerable freedom in the selection of a task, which appeared to be influenced by the opportunity to 'chat up' younger female staff who often provided the added 'bonus' of free food and beverages. Both Blau (op cit) and Homans (op cit) note that power relationships based on dependency change and decline over time but, in the case of the maintenance engineers, this was resisted at the London hotel because the 'survivors' consisted of three men who were related (ie. two brothers and an uncle, who was a brother-in-law of one of the two remaining Turkish-Cypriot engineers). Of the two 'isolates' from this group, one left before the study was replicated and the other was physically located on the top floor, whereas the survivors were situated in the basement. Similarly, all but the two youngest engineers at the Coastal hotel had previously been employed in the Royal Navy Dockyards or Royal Navy, but dissention surfaced in this section after a relative of the Chief Engineer's wife was appointed as supervisor, and there was a tendency for these engineers to work 'to rule' by bringing defective equipment back to their workshop for repair, where job sheets would be completed. Conversely, Kitchen chefs were more prominent 'opinion leaders' in the Coastal rather than in the London hotel and this was thought to be due to a number of factors, including the presence of fewer nationalities; a younger workforce, several of whom had never worked for another company; clearer lines of responsibility to an Executive Chef who worked alongside his staff every day, whilst his London counterpart worked 'London office hours' and rarely saw the morning and late-night chefs; an absence of 'moonlighting' by the Coastal chefs, whereas all the London chefs were alleged to have at least one additional part-time job; and better working relations with the Kitchen stewards and Restaurant staff than their London counterparts, although problems did arise after the first communication audit with the appointment of a new Restaurant Manageress at the Coastal hotel, as was mentioned under Chapter 7.1.3. (xi) on page 179.

Attention has been drawn to these employees because, as groups, they belong to the lowest Job Classification (ie. Job Class 3, although there were also one or two 'opinion leaders' in Job Class 2 in both hotels), which appears as the 'opinion leaders' in both hotels. The likely explanation for this behaviour is that the maintenance engineers and chefs gained power through their technical expertise which brought them into frequent contact with other employees and enabled them to control work flows of those who were dependent on them for these particular services. The status of expert was attributed to these employees which was reinforced each time they were called upon to demonstrate their expertise.

Nonetheless, the majority of the 'opinion leaders' were drawn from Job Classification 5 employees in both hotels, who were mainly employed in Reception or as supervisors in other departments. The concept of resource dependency power can also be used to explain the important role played by Reception staff in the communication networks, since this develops in areas of critical uncertainty in organisations, involving decisions relating to factors which are simultaneously important and uncertain, so that power is attributed to those employees who can effectively control or eliminate any uncertainty. In operational terms, these crucial yet uncertain factors generally related to the daily levels of room occupancy in both hotels, and information on this subject was always obtained first by Reception staff for circulation to other departments. This procedure also explains why conflict occasionally developed between Reception and Housekeeping staff, because the latter were 'paid by results' and would normally have expected to leave work when the requisite number of rooms were 'made up', yet would often have to wait, or even work later than anticipated, because information about room occupancies was received late from the Front Desk departments in both hotels. Another example of this manipulation of communication networks by 'opinion leaders' was displayed by Banqueting Coordinators/Supervisors, Room Service and (some) Restaurant/Coffee Shop Supervisors, who had prior knowledge of

receptions, conferences, or other bookings by guests, either through face-to-face negotiations or as a direct result of telephone enquiries. The remaining 'opinion leaders' mainly consisted of other supervisors, administrative managers, in Job Classification 4 positions, and senior managers in Job Classification 6 positions, who exercised power through the available communication networks because they were directly involved in the decision making processes which depended on continual negotiation and persuasion with subordinates to gain the outcomes that they valued.

One striking difference between the two hotels occurred in the numbers of Job Classification 6 respondents in senior management positions who were identified as 'opinion leaders'. For example, Figure 9.30 indicates that nine of the thirteen senior managers at the Coastal hotel were 'opinion leaders' in the Prescribed networks which were active at least once per day and Figure 9.33 also shows that five from this group were also represented in the Emergent network, in comparison with only four of their London counterparts in both networks, during the initial studies. Similarly, six and three of the Coastal managers, respectively, were also active 'opinion leaders' in both of these networks at least once per day during the replicated studies, in comparison with only two of the London managers, as shown in Figures 9.36 and 9.39, respectively. This disparity between the managers was also apparent in replicated networks that were based on links occurring more than once per day, as shown in Figures 9.31, 9.34, 9.37 and 9.39. Given, following Kanter (ibid) and Roloff (ibid), that the London managers would be expected to exercise less power and influence over other employees as a result of being less active in the main communication networks, an important question arises as to whether they were able to 'compensate' for this withdrawal, or lack of involvement, by displaying similar or higher 'Connectedness' towards each other, than was shown by their Coastal counterparts, as presented in Figures 9.36 and 9.39. Figure 10.1 shows the comparative Group Connectedness Ratios for the two groups, in the form of communication cliques for the three

years, Times T1, T2 and T3, of the replicated studies. It can be seen from these cliques, which were active at least once per day, that senior managers in the London hotel consistently displayed lower levels of Connectedness with each other than their Coastal counterparts. These comparisons were abandoned at Time T4, because, though seven of the original senior managers were still employed in the Coastal hotel, all but four of their London counterparts had left the company. The losses in the Coastal hotel were mainly due to job transfers and several resignations, whereas the major changes at the London hotel were due to resignations or dismissals when evidence of systematic, long-term fraud was uncovered by the Chief Security Officer during 1986. This revelation accompanied a change in the Head Office executive structure, following the sudden departure of a vice-president and a decline in profitability at the London hotel, as a result of the impact of international terrorism on the number of North American tourists. Disparities between the attitudes of Head Office executives and those of the local managements towards the financial performances of their respective hotels were discussed under Chapter 6.2 on page 147, when it was noted that Head Office attributed the previously high profitability at the London hotel to environmental factors and the disappointing financial performance of the Coastal hotel to a lack of initiative by local management; and it was also noted that the opposite view was taken by the senior managers at both hotels.

Predictably, Head Office criticism was even more accentuated at the London hotel, following the discovery of fraudulent practices involving four senior managers. The latter could not be interviewed because they were compelled to resign immediately, or face possible prosecutions, but three senior Head Office executives later criticised the London hotel management for having frequently circumvented corporate policy by ignoring or "revamping the lines of communication" so that management functions were often left to supervisors and other long-serving employees to implement; and changes in financial procedures were also introduced by degree without prior approval. The surviving

London managers generally refused to comment on the situation, but the Security team were more outspoken and alleged that the managers who had resigned "were all on 'the take'!...and giving discounts and getting 'kickbacks' from banquets and conferences for ages...one of them was definitely into drugs and getting 'kickbacks' from some of the 'Toms' we have to kick out of the bar and foyer!" When asked how long these illicit practices had been in operation and why action had not been taken sooner, the Security officers replied "Sorry, it's all under wraps! According to Head Office, we're not supposed to say anything to anyone!".

This turn of events at the London hotel contrasted sharply with findings at the Coastal hotel, where it had previously been noted that only one of the 'opinion leaders' in a Job Classification 6 position possessed previous experience in the hotel industry and, as mentioned in Chapter 7.2 on page 183, the remainder of these senior managers joined the company following previous experience in the police force, armed services, or local naval dockyards. Their behaviour supports House's (1984) research that there are some individuals in organisations who are more inclined to want, seek, and wield power than other employees, as a result of previous experiences, and are more likely to engage in persuasive communication transactions to gain desired outcomes. As examples, one can cite the influential paternalism of the Chief Security Officer, who reputedly had the final word about whether any operative or supervisor was employed; and the adaptiveness of the Front Desk manager, formerly a chartered engineer, who subsequently moved to Head Office to coordinate the reservation system throughout the company; and contrast this with the behaviour of the middle-aged Chief Engineer who, apparently not satisfied with his contribution to a national award-winning energy-conservation programme, unsuccessfully applied for diverse vacancies as Restaurant Manager, Front Desk Manager and Marketing Manager, following the dismissal or transfer of experienced staff in these positions. Finally, the appointment of nearly one-third of the employees in the Coastal hotel, who shared similar working

backgrounds, kinship or other close ties with other 'opinion leaders', has already been noted and, contrasted sharply with the London hotel where the 'dominant coalitions' included members of different ethnic groups.

10.3.2. The Lack of Power and Influence of Isolates

It was noted under Chapter 9.1.4. that, in general, the mean Connectedness scores were hierarchically orientated towards the higher job classifications and yet friendship links were more characteristic of the limited communication activity of Job Classifications 1 and 2 than of higher status employees. The personal interviews in both hotels also indicated that Job Classification 1 employees performed the most routine jobs for the lowest rates of pay, worked alone, were physically isolated from each other and other employees, received next to no training, were closely supervised according to 'Payment By Results' principles, had no promotion prospects and, in keeping with other company employees, were discouraged from engaging in trades union activities. As noted in Chapter 8, the highest labour turnover also occurred amongst these employees yet, despite the spartan-like working conditions in the hotels, the survivors displayed surprising solidarity and cohesiveness and had either remained in employment since the opening of the Coastal hotel, or for periods of two to twelve years at the London hotel. Further enquiries revealed the importance of friendship and kinship ties amongst these respondents at the Coastal hotel and eight of the longest-serving members of the Housekeeping and Laundry staff were either related to other employees, had family connections with the armed forces or police, or were near neighbours of other workers in these departments, with whom they travelled to work in the company mini-bus. Three of the surviving kitchen stewards also had kinship ties with other employees. Four supervisors had obtained jobs for between one and three of their children and there were three other sets of sisters employed in the hotel. Meanwhile, surviving employees at the London hotel were mostly of West Indian or Portuguese origins, who were either related or near neighbours, and members of other minority ethnic groups.

It is contended, however, that more reliable predictions could be made about the communication and job retention characteristics of Job Classification 1 respondents because, in terms of traditional superior-subordinate relationships, these employees were generally lacking in power and influence more than other members of staff in both hotels. It is less easy to generalise about Job Classification 2 employees because, although they were mostly under twenty-five years of age, semi-skilled, received minimal company training as a result of obtaining craft-training elsewhere, were slightly better paid than Job Classification 1 employees, they also engaged more frequently in communication transactions than the latter, particularly with respondents whose jobs were instrumentally related to their own (eg. chefs and kitchen stewards), yet generally remained in these positions for less than one year and, as a group, recorded very high levels of labour turnover. These 'transactions' also involved systematic 'fiddling' and waiters were observed ordering beer from the bar which was then carried by tray back to the chefs in the kitchen. When asked how these orders were paid for, one waiter said that any discrepancies in the bar takings were "made up out of tips" on "a buggins'-turn" basis. Moreover, those who retained their jobs usually had kinship ties with other employees in the Coastal hotel, or belonged to the largest ethnic group (ie. Filipinos) in the London hotel.

Henderson's (ibid) classical account of waiter's behaviour can be used to evaluate the communication and other work-related behaviour of this category of employee. Their activities begin to make sense when they are analysed in terms of a three-way 'manager-subordinate-guest' relationship which postulates that, since the bulk of a waiter's income came from 'tips' and other 'perks', his first loyalty will always be to the guest rather than to the manager. It follows that networks would generally be used instrumentally to maximise income. Meanwhile, the manager would be expected to compensate for the waiter's self-interested behaviour by exercising institutional power against these subordinates so that, entrepreneurially, their pay would be kept at a

minimum level and, intrapreneurially, they would be excluded from the wider-based, more influential communication networks.

10.3.3. Communication Networks and Organisational Governance and the Grid/Group Taxonomies

In testing the various hypotheses and sub-hypotheses in Chapter 9, cumulative evidence was provided which supported the finding that the degree of employee-involvement in, and the stability of, Prescribed and Emergent communication networks was positively related to the Job Classification and the level of technology in the tasks performed by respondents. Briefly, the higher the status, the less routine the task, and the greater the opportunities for interaction in both the internal and external communication networks. Replicated analysis also showed that the formal lines of communication in the Prescribed networks were not the same as would have been expected from an examination of the organisational charts for both hotels, as depicted in Figure 6.1. In fact, the closest 'fit' between the Prescribed network and the organisation chart occurred in the Coastal hotel during both studies; nevertheless, several anomalies were noted and, for example, neither General Manager, belonged to the dominant coalition of 'opinion leaders', nor did the Executive Chef during the replicated study, at a time when he and the replacement General Manager appeared to be the only senior managers who refrained from participating in the 'character assassination' campaign which the 'opinion leaders' mounted against the new Restaurant Manageress. Precisely why these two very experienced and, let it be said, feared senior managers should either have ignored or failed to stop this cruel, unprofessional conduct is not easy to explain. Perhaps they were shrewd enough to anticipate that Head Office would have disapproved strongly of their open involvement, or maybe the opposition to this employee had gathered so much momentum that it got out of hand and, faced with an intractible problem, they behaved not unlike the Pacific islanders referred to in Captain James Cook's log, who were so frightened by the unimaginable size of his sailing ship that they rapidly began to behave as if it had never arrived and dropped anchor in their bay.

More anomalies between the positions of staff in the organisational chart and their involvement in the Prescribed networks occurred at the London hotel where, with few exceptions, most managers appeared to have abdicated responsibility for dealing directly with staff and allowed the day-to-day functional activities to be run by experienced supervisors or by influential members of the three main ethnic groups. The latter employees probably encouraged or accepted these alterations in the lines of formal communication, by exploiting friendship/affect and kinship ties so that personal and collective goals were achieved. As for the external networks, according to the hotel senior management, attempts were made to integrate the known or expected demands of Head Office, prospective guests and suppliers etc., into an overall corporate plan. Yet according to Head Office, too much policy was interpreted locally, Head Office executives were kept at 'arm's length' and ill-informed about local problems, until operations were rapidly affected and interventions by Head Office staff became unavoidable. This progressive analysis, which seeks to show how individual perceptions about communication transactions, cohere into dyads, cliques and dominant coalitions, raises questions about the relevance of system-level concepts, like Fombrun's 'Organisational Governance' and Mars and Nicod's (ibid) 'Grid-Group' taxonomy, which are discussed below.

It has already been noted in Chapter 9 that, in defining 'Organisational Governance', Fombrun (op cit) introduces variables that are difficult to relate to these studies, such as 'Professionalism' (ie. "an index constructed from three items: the number of professional associations of which the individual is a member; the number of professional... conferences attended in the past two years; and the number of papers... published...in the past five years") and 'Information Control' (ie. "a combination of two items: the number of journals regularly read and the average number of hours a week spent reading these journals"), which are so specialised, as to have little relevance to organisations other than the R & D Laboratory where his field studies were conducted. In terms of the Fombrun taxonomy, since the indices for both hotels

have increased between Time 1 and Time 2, it could be argued that they have become less 'Mechanistic/Elitist' and more 'Organic/Pluralist' in Governance Structure, with the Coastal hotel showing the greater shift as a result of the larger increases in the Friendship and Emergent network indices. The difficulty with this approach is that, however objective it purports to be, it excludes other variables which could readily be compared with those already mentioned in this chapter, such as the status of 'Opinion Leaders', their Job Classification, Connectedness, the degree of routine/non-routine technology of their jobs, and the period of employment, etc. Unless these or their analogues are incorporated in the analysis, it is difficult to envisage how the 'Organisational Governance' taxonomy can usefully be explicated as a process of coalition building, involving interaction between the more technically-skilled, higher status and, hence, more powerful members of an organisation.

Mars and Nicod (ibid) argue that the characteristics in 'Grid/Group' taxonomy, which were summarised in Chapter 9.8, could vary from 'strong' (ie. low personal autonomy) to 'weak' (ie. high personal autonomy), which provide a useful way of interpreting the communication and labour turnover analyses in both hotels, as shown below.

Grid Characteristics

(i) Total Rewards System: Corporate policy ensured that similar basic rates were paid for the same jobs throughout the company, although it has already been noted that most managers and all the Food and Beverage staff who came into direct contact with guests received a substantial element of "non-taxable, non-formalised rewards", either through entertaining guests or as gratuities. These practices provide support for the labour turnover analyses in both hotels which indicated that poor remuneration was a frequent reason for turnover amongst lower-status staff, who could not rely on earning 'tips', but would not explain the departure of those who relied heavily on the

receipt of gratuities. Nevertheless, it was concluded that the Coastal hotel showed stronger Grid characteristics because numerous respondents in both hotels indicated that far higher gratuities could be earned at the London hotel. Yet apart from one Bar attendant who boasted of earning £18-25 per day in 'fiddles' and claims that most Food and Beverage staff took two or three 'package tour' holidays per year on a basic wage of under £2 per hour; most respondents were reluctant to discuss these matters. However, these reports were supported by the practice of London managers to meet for ritual drinking-bouts each evening in the bar, ostensibly 'to meet the punters', the subsequent discovery of fraudulent behaviour by leading members of this group, coupled with problems relating to the 'tronc' system in the Coffee Shop/Restaurant, whereas none of these practices were either observed or talked about by staff at the Coastal hotel.

(ii) Control of Resources: There was more evidence of managerial control over stocks, the receipt of cash, etc., staff selection and general security at the Coastal than at the London hotel where, with the exception of staff interviews, these operations were coordinated by supervisors and junior managers; most of whom were long-serving staff and members of the dominant coalition. There was also more control over hours of work and over-time at the Coastal hotel and extra labour was drawn from an approved list of part-time staff, whereas unknown 'Agency' staff were used in emergencies at the London hotel. These practices also led to less control over the precise working areas where low-status staff were employed in most departments, apart from the Kitchen, at the London hotel. Finally, stronger Grid characteristics were also shown at the Coastal hotel through the centralised control over 'tips', whereas the 'tronc' system had been abandoned at the London hotel and gratuities appeared to be of less importance than 'fiddles'; access to which was largely determined by membership of, or acceptance by,

the dominant ethnic group of Filipino staff in the main Food and Beverage departments.

(iii) Work Assessment: There were no major differences between the two hotels in terms of this characteristic, yet there was more rule-constrained assessment of employee's performance in the Coastal Housekeeping department during the first study, although this was relaxed considerably with the appointment of a new manager during the replicated study. Conversely, the Pool/ Leisure staff at the London hotel were more rule-constrained initially than their Coastal counterparts, although the latter situation was totally reversed following a fatal accident in the pool, which led to more staff being employed, stricter working instructions and clearer lines of authority being enforced.

(iv) Staff Recruitment: Here again, stronger Grid characteristics were apparent in the Coastal hotel, where more formal procedures were used (ie. the 'unofficial' checking on new recruits with the local police force which had senior management's approval) and there was also far less use of casual or 'agency' labour, as new recruits and the reserve lists of part-time labour were mostly known to the full-time staff who were members of the dominant coalition in this hotel. Employment at the London hotel was based more on personal contact for the most part, especially in departments where ethnic groups were well established.

(v) Career Progression: No reliable distinctions could be made between the two hotels in terms of this characteristic, as the Coastal staff either possessed less previous experience of the industry at the managerial level or, where they possessed skills, those in non-managerial positions either retained the same job in what was regarded as a new hotel, or tended to move on within one year.

Group Characteristics

(i) Workplace Relations: The London hotel tended to display the stronger Group characteristics as there was less involvement of higher-status employees in the dominant coalitions. There was also more group interdependence, closer cooperation between supervisory staff and operatives, and considerable overlap between work and non-work relationships, either as a result of membership of the main ethnic groups, who mostly shared accommodation, or because other staff lodged in the company hostel. In contrast, these characteristics were mostly confined to the members of the dominant coalition at the Coastal hotel.

(ii) Work Orientation: Stronger Group characteristics were displayed by the more solidaristic behaviour of the London staff, at the sub-managerial level, who identified more closely with their ethnic group and with co-workers than their Coastal colleagues, especially in the Housekeeping and Food and Beverage departments, with the exception of the Kitchen.

(iii) Low Collectivism: There was evidence that discontented colleagues tended to leave lower-status jobs yet, if any collective action was ever planned, such as joining a trade union, nothing was discussed formally, probably because the labour force was too segmented to act collectively in either hotel.

(iv) Individual Contracts: The London hotel displayed stronger Group characteristics, probably because management relied upon the united strength of the lower-status workforce and manipulated the individual's desire not to disappoint others in his ethnic group than their Coastal counterparts.

(v) Blame Passing: Similarly, management at the London hotel were able to exploit the strong group solidarity which made it harder

for an individual to pass on blame to his peers. This probably explains why the London operatives and supervisors were far more critical of management in private than their Coastal colleagues. Conversely, the latter staff felt no obligation to conceal their hostility toward key employees who defied the dominant coalition, although these activities, which were discussed in Section 10.3.2, were probably ignored or manipulated by both General Managers and the Executive Chef in the Coastal hotel.

On the basis of the above explication, it was concluded that the two hotels could be more clearly distinguished using the Mars and Nicod (ibid) concepts of 'Grid-Group' than in terms of the Fombrun (ibid) 'Organisational Governance' taxonomy, which was found to contain several attributes that had no direct bearing on the observed or specified work activities of any of the respondents in the field study. Thus, the Coastal hotel was typically found to display stronger 'Grid' and weaker 'Group' characteristics than the London hotel and these differences were maintained during the period covered by replicated studies. Thus, the prevailing social environment of the Coastal hotel was characterised by "Insulated Subordination", (Mars and Nicod, op cit), due to the use that most of the managerial 'opinion leaders' made of their previous experience of public-service bureaucracies, as a substitute for the broad technical skills and experience of the hotel industry that were possessed by only a few of their colleagues and, in a narrower sense, by most of the lower-status staff in the Food and Beverage departments, who were directly responsible to the 'opinion leaders', whenever any of the latter acted as 'Duty Manager' in the hotel. Conversely, the prevailing social environment of the London hotel was dominated by "Collaborative and Competitive Alliances" (Mars and Nicod, op cit), due to the "Individuality and Competitive Entrepreneurality" of the longer-employed operatives and supervisors, many of whom were 'opinion leaders' in the dominant ethnic minority groups, and had achieved their influential positions largely due to most of the senior managers having abdicated their responsibilities in this hotel. It should be added by way of

qualification that these differences were more readily established from the comparative analysis of individual- and clique-level network concepts, such as the identification of 'isolates', 'opinion leaders' and 'dominant coalitions' in terms of their Connectedness and relationships to the Job Classification typology, than by calculating system-level measures, such as the Average System Connectedness, which were presented under Chapter 9.8.

This is not to deny the importance of Average System Connectedness in comparative Network Analysis. For example, with the exception of the Decisions network, these indices were higher in all other networks during the replicated studies in both hotels. These differences were statistically significant in the Information, Goods, Friendship, Prescribed and Emergent networks at the Coastal hotel, compared with the Information and Friendship networks at the London hotel. It should also be noted that the differences between the hotels were not significant in the Information, Goods, Prescribed and Emergent networks during the initial Time T1 study, otherwise significantly higher differences were recorded at the Coastal hotel in the Decisions network in both studies and in the Information, Goods, Prescribed and Emergent networks during the replicated Time T2 study. Finally, although significantly higher differences occurred in the Friendship network during the initial Time T1 study at the London hotel, this finding was significantly reversed in the replicated Time T2 study. Finally, it is contended that the relevance of these findings would have been more difficult to explicate without prior reference to the 'Grid-Group' analysis, which was more open to interpretation in terms of individual and clique-level measures of communication activity, and therefore had the added advantage of complementing the Inductive perspective adopted throughout this thesis.

10.4. COMMUNICATION, JOB RETENTION AND LABOUR TURNOVER HYPOTHESES

Analysis of the various hypotheses in Chapter 9 indicated that increased communication activity, when measured as Connectedness in the Prescribed and Emergent networks, was strongly correlated with higher status in

the Job Classification typology, the increasing levels of Technology and the average length of employment of respondents in both hotels. Positive correlations also occurred between Connectedness and 'intervening' variables, such as the mean chronological age and the age when a respondent's full-time education ceased and the average length of company training provided. Connectedness and job retention were strongly associated with Job Classification, but were modified by individual demographic and pre-employment characteristics which, for lower-status employees, influenced whether or not they were accepted by the 'opinion leaders' in both hotels. Turnover and Connectedness were less strongly associated with Job Classification, mainly because high turnover occurred amongst Job Classification 5 employees, many of whom were prominent in the various Communication networks. More generally, turnover typically occurred at two different rates in both hotels, (ie. Examination of the Survival Curves in Figures 8.2 to 8.87, inclusive, suggests that the 'fast' rate of turnover occurred during the 'Induction crisis' period, within three to six months of employees joining the organisation, whereas the 'slow' rate of turnover occurred after most of these 'assimilated' employees had been employed for over twelve months). Thus the length of employment of a newcomer was typically found to be associated with his Job Classification at the point of entry which, in turn, was related to the level of technology in the prescribed task and the opportunities that this work provided for communication transactions with other employees, guests, and significant others, such as Head Office executives, in the external environment.

Exceptional cases occurred, however, and a large proportion of Job Classification 2 employees, who mainly worked as wait/ers/resses in the restaurant, coffee shop, bars, room service and the night club, left their jobs at the same or even at a faster rate than Job Classification 1 employees in both hotels. As mentioned earlier, it was concluded that the probability that they would remain in their jobs depended on kinship or ethnic ties, or the compatibility of their

instrumental goals with those of the 'opinion leaders' in both hotels. Thus, over 40 per cent of these separations at the Coastal hotel and more than half of those at the London hotel, which were discussed in Chapter 8.3.1 (iv), were attributed to inadequate pay/benefits, dissatisfaction with working conditions and better job offers elsewhere. This 'failure to fit in' was also thought to account for the employment and departure of no fewer than nine restaurant managers and twenty-six supervisors during the five year period from the beginning of 1982, when the Coastal hotel was opened, up to the end of 1986. In contrast, the 'capacity to fit in' with the prevailing ethnic/cultural norms of their colleagues would explain the long-term employment, ranging from over five to nearly twelve years, that seven supervisors and one manager had achieved in the restaurant, bars and room service departments in the London hotel, also by the end of 1986.

In evaluating the model of communication processes, job retention and labour turnover presented as Figure 3.3, it is important to note that employee job satisfaction/dissatisfaction could not be investigated fully during the field study. This was conceptualised as an affective response to the antecedent communication activity of employees and attitude surveys were completed at Time T3 in both hotels; although it was subsequently decided to exclude these analyses for the following reasons: firstly, the surveys were carried out unaided, using a questionnaire that was an abridged version of Cook and Wall's (1980) original instrument, which had been amended by a colleague who assisted the researcher in starting a Hotel and Catering Research Unit and, strictly speaking, this could not be offered as original work. Secondly, the data could not be compared directly with Cook and Wall's findings and no bench-mark was available for proper evaluation. Thirdly, logistical difficulties prevented the attitude surveys being carried out until twelve months after the Time T2 replicated communication audits were completed, when approximately half of the original staff were still in employment and it was decided to focus the analysis on the surviving 'opinion leaders' in both hotels. Fourthly, the results of the latter analyses were inconclusive and these failed

to show higher correlations between communication activity and positive work-related attitudes for the cohorts of 'opinion leaders' in both hotels.

This conclusion was not entirely unexpected, however, as it confirmed an earlier finding by Danowski (1980), who also failed to find consistent agreement between Connectedness and Attitude uniformity. On the basis of personal interviews with the Coastal hotel managers, it was decided that these differences between extensive communication activity and negative work-related attitudes were of a transient nature, and mainly stemmed from their dissatisfaction with recent salary awards, coupled with the widely held view that Head Office executives had failed to appreciate their successful reversal of the previous year's poor trading performance. The situation was more difficult to explain at the London hotel, because the majority of 'opinion leaders' and other long-serving employees recorded positive responses in the Attitude Survey which roundly contradicted the severe criticism, made in the privacy of a personal interview, of most senior managers and of the way that the hotel was being managed by them.

10.5. CAVEAT

A caveat arises with this research because a systemic perspective is advanced which postulates the participation of a changing workforce in a continuous process of communication exchanges and transactions, as each hotel 'renews' itself over time. The resulting Emergent networks would be unstable, to say the least, in an industry with an annual labour turnover approximately three times higher than the national average. Yet as McClean (1986) has shown, more reliable predictions of changes in dynamic models of this type are obtained when these are conceptualised as a mixed Exponential Distribution, rather than being subjected to a linear interpretation. The difficulty with this approach, however, is that data would have to be collected at numerous census-points (ie. three-monthly intervals have been suggested) in a comparable study of over 3 years duration, before a satisfactory

Exponential Distribution analysis could be completed. Thus, some of the conclusions that can be drawn from this research should be regarded as tentative, since it would be difficult to make firm predictions from data which is, essentially, discontinuous as a result of being collected from the majority of respondents at two census points over a twelve to fifteen months period. For example, labour turnover data was collected for analysis on 536 employees at the Coastal hotel and 757 employees at the London hotel during the 3½ year period of the field study, communication data could only be collected on 23 and 26 per cent of the Coastal hotel staff and on 14 and 18 per cent of the employees at the London hotel during the replicated Time T1 and T2 studies, respectively.

This difficulty should not distract attention from the more positive distinctions it was possible to make between surviving employees, including 'opinion leaders', and the more isolated members of the communication networks, or the important fact that the Job Classifications provided a reliable predictor of job retention, when measures of communication activity and individual attributes were taken into consideration. After all, over 80 per cent of the 'opinion leaders' from the higher Job Classifications were still employed over four years after the field study was started at both hotels, yet such was the rapid rate of turnover of substantial numbers of employees in the lower Job Classifications, that it would have been very difficult to interview many, even if communication network data had been collected at three-monthly intervals, to complement the more comprehensive 'exit interview' data which had been accumulated separately.

10.6. PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Between 1984 and 1986, various summaries of the main findings of this field study were presented to the Business Policy Committee at Head Office, the senior management team at each hotel, and to separate conferences of the company's hotel general managers and personnel

officers. Although there was disagreement in the meetings with senior management in both hotels about the findings on dominant coalitions, the perceptions of lower-status staff towards senior management, and training policies, there was also a broad agreement on the following points:

(i) The management procedures of communicating with staff at all levels were unsatisfactory. Too many meetings were arranged and cancelled because of the split-shift system and urgent problems which needed immediate attention.

(ii) Communication procedures also failed to achieve objectives because of confusion about the responsibilities of the departmental, personnel and duty managers.

(iii) Despite the proliferation of computer-based management information systems, nobody in either hotel appeared to possess general knowledge of every system. Other technical aids, such as the staff-location 'bleep' system, were often a nuisance, because each ensuing internal telephone call 'blocked' an incoming and outgoing call on the Front Desk exchange. Besides, important communication was always carried out verbally, face-to-face, anyway.

(iv) Induction and training procedures were provided for lower-status staff but these were inadequate and probably contributed to the high labour turnover.

(v) Some labour turnover was desirable because it ensured that unsuitable staff did not remain, but turnover was regarded as too high and created problems, particularly in the Housekeeping and Food and Beverage departments.

(vi) Staff were generally cynical about company Incentive schemes.

Separate enquiries revealed that meetings of departmental managers occurred more frequently at the Coastal hotel than at the London hotel, where the one attended by the researcher in 1983 was reputed to be the first to be held in two years and was probably specially arranged. Head Office executives were incredulous to learn that the stipulated monthly meetings of departmental managers were not being held at the London hotel.

The Personnel Manager at each hotel was directly responsible to the Company Personnel Director for staff training but, because they were also responsible to the hotel General Manager, duties such as the payment of weekly wages and 'duty management' responsibilities had also been allocated to these managers, contrary to Head Office approval. Similarly, according to Head Office, the role of 'duty manager' was supposed to be undertaken by departmental heads only, the Personnel Manager excepted, yet during the field studies it was apparent that responsibility would often be deputed to a willing supervisor, especially after 5pm. and over weekends.

The views about the general lack of computer-literacy amongst senior management in both hotels were also supported by the field studies and, as reported in Part Two, only three managers in the Coastal and two in the London hotel admitted to knowing how to 'imput' data into any of the numerous management information systems and were subsequently seen to be actually using the relevant computing equipment. Similarly, from the standpoint of more mobile managers and supervisors in Housekeeping and the Food and Beverage departments, the staff-location 'bleeps' were frequently observed to create confusion, as a busy manager would hurry off in search of the nearest house-telephone, only to find it engaged, or that the eventual call was unimportant.

Although little first-hand evidence was collected on induction procedures by the researcher, these appeared to be more symbolic and ritualistic than serving any clearly thought-out training function. In

those observed, the Personnel Manager presented each new employee with the company handbook, a tour of the hotel, and introduction to their head of department, a free lunch, followed by tea with the General Manager; yet only two of the seven new employees who were introduced to the researcher during the first survey at the London hotel stayed with the company for longer than three days.

Finally, a company-wide merit-award system, known as the 'Employee of the Month/Year' competition, had been in operation for over ten years, but without any selection criteria ever being provided by Head Office. Nevertheless, awards were made each month at both hotels and consisted of a £50 cheque, a coloured photograph of the presentation for the recipient, and a black-and-white photograph which was displayed on the notice board in the staff canteen. 'Employee of the Year' awards were more generous and during 1984 consisted of a trip to the United States with £500 spending money for the winning employee. Different methods were employed to make the awards in both hotels. The Coastal hotel were predictably more 'bureaucratic' and at one departmental meeting arrived at a decision on the following basis: 'Which department had it last time? Has any one not had a prize yet? Who hasn't had one in that department? Oh, X is a good worker! etc." It is worth noting, that under this system, all the 'opinion leaders' at the Coastal hotel, apart from the managers, who were ineligible, had won the award at least once during the 1982-85 period' and two had won the 'Employee of the Year' award. Arrangements at the London hotel appeared to be more arbitrary and the one decision which was observed during the first study was taken in less than one minute by a group of four senior managers who had assembled in the bar at 6pm. "to meet the punters".

10.5.1. Recommendations

The following recommendations were made to the senior managers at Head Office and the appropriate hotels during 1984 and 1985.

Recommendation 1: Procedures for improving staff communications should be introduced at all levels in both hotels. For example, departmental management meetings should take place monthly and a different operative should be invited to attend as an observer.

Recommendation 2: Staff meetings should be organised in each department to occur at least monthly during the shift 'overlap' period and a management representative other than the departmental head should be invited to attend as an observer. These meetings should concentrate on providing staff with information about new procedures, etc., and provide a venue for ensuring that new employees were introduced to all their colleagues.

Recommendation 3: In order to give some structure to departmental management meetings (ie. those previously attended in both hotels were poorly focused and tended to last too long and drift aimlessly), the term 'DAY 20' was proposed as a convenient label to ensure that meetings occurred monthly on every twentieth working day, when a '5-M' routine (ie. M = money, marketing, manpower, methods and machinery) would be included which would require the managers responsible for different departments to brief colleagues on proposed changes in operations. Modified versions of the'5-M' routine should also be introduced at departmental meetings.

Recommendation 4: Inconsistencies between the staff training programmes and budgets approved by Head Office and those implemented by the focal hotels should be resolved without delay.

Recommendation 5: Specific training in the computerised management information systems should be extended to a wider range of managers and supervisors in both hotels.

Recommendation 6: The training/staff development programmes for personnel managers should be re-evaluated and preferably organised away

from the focal hotels, to strengthen the 'line' relationships between managers and the Company Personnel Director. Staffing levels in these sections also should be investigated in view of the additional work that had been assimilated in both hotels.

Recommendation 7: Departmental heads should be involved in all relevant selection interviews and Personnel managers should take part in the 'exit interview' procedures in both hotels, if only to ensure that the company's legal responsibilities were correctly discharged.

Recommendation 8: Members of the 'core' staff in the Housekeeping and Food and Beverage departments also should be involved in recruitment and training, by being asked to nominate and sponsor new employees and take responsibility for their day-to-day training, in return for a financial award providing the new employee stayed for a minimum period of, say, six months with the company.

Recommendation 9: Each department should be required to nominate a candidate for the 'Employee of the Month' award at their monthly meetings so that a selection from these names could be made at the Departmental management meetings, according to criteria agreed with Head Office.

Recommendation 10: The Labour Turnover methodology discussed in Chapter Eight should be introduced as a standard procedure in all hotels, with particular emphasis on controlling departures in the Housekeeping and Food and Beverage departments.

Recommendation 11: The working arrangements in the Housekeeping department should be reappraised by carrying out 'pilot trials' which would compare the labour turnover of the present method with an alternative which would allow staff to work in self-selecting pairs, providing no reduction occurs in the number of rooms 'made up' daily.

Recommendation 12: New recruits in the Housekeeping and Food and Beverage departments should be allowed to work at normal pay for a three-day trial period so that they could obtain experience of the physical demands of the work and leave if they thought these were excessive, before a formal offer of employment was made.

Recommendation 13: In addition to Duty Managers, the company should consider acknowledging the unofficial role of 'Duty Supervisor', as a means of developing young supervisors, who are not on the Management Trainee scheme and who intend to leave the company within two years to widen their experience.

10.7. EPILOGUE

Senior management at the Coastal hotel responded more positively to these recommendations than their London counterparts and, during 1985 and 1986, the procedures for holding departmental meetings were changed in line with these recommendations. The proposal that representatives of management and operatives should attend the different monthly meetings was found to be particularly successful, but the '5-M' routine was soon dropped by departmental managers, but not operatives, because the former regarded it as too constraining and repetitive. The procedures for the 'Employee of the Month' award were also revised and a large photographic display of previous winners was hung in a prominent position near the Front Desk, where enquiries from guests were apparently so common that the public relation benefits have been recommended to other hotels by Head Office. Renewed problems with staff turnover occurred in the Housekeeping department during 1985 and the researcher was asked to advise management about possible solutions, following face-to-face interviews with staff. As a result, the 3-day 'work experience' trial period was successfully introduced and staff were also offered financial awards of £50 for each sponsored new employee who remained with the company longer than six months. The proposal that work should be reorganised so that staff could work in pairs, providing room 'output' levels were maintained, was apparently

put forward but turned down without explanation by Head Office. Meanwhile, efforts to assist in initiating changes at the London hotel were generally resisted through appointments being rearranged and cancelled at short notice.

The position of Company Training Officer, responsible to the Personnel Director, was created during 1984 with responsibility for ensuring that approved training programmes and expenditure were correctly implemented. This brief was so successful that the holder left the company in 1986 to set up a private consultancy which included the company as one of its clients. Meanwhile, regular Personnel Management conferences were introduced by the Personnel Director in 1984/85. These two-day conferences take place in different hotels, and are attended by all company personnel managers, with visiting speakers, etc., being brought in to update staff on developments in personnel and industrial relations. The recommended creation of Duty Supervisors, which arose from discussions with eleven supervisors in 1984, eight of whom had left the company by 1985, was submitted to the Business Policy Committee by the Personnel Conference but no decision had been taken by 1986. A decision was also taken in 1986 to introduce the Labour Turnover methodology as a 'pilot trial' in two hotels, including the Coastal hotel. Results from the first-quarter of the trial indicated projected annual turnovers of 38 per cent for Administration, Nil for Maintenance, 36 per cent for Front Desk, 51 per cent for Food and Beverage, 44 per cent for Housekeeping and an overall average turnover for the hotel of 43 per cent; ie. less than two-thirds of the previous annual total for the hotel. A specially-written computer package, compatible with the available IBM PC's, which monitors arrivals, departures, per cent labour turnover, average length of employment, survival curves, and 'reasons for leaving' pie-charts by department, was offered to the company in 1986 but, at the time of writing, no decision had been taken.

Finally, following a request from the Canadian parent company in 1986, the Business Policy Committee instructed the Personnel Department to

introduce Quality Control Circles throughout the company during 1987; and the author was asked to participate in preliminary discussions about how the programme might be implemented. Attention was drawn to Japanese, American and British experience, which showed that these procedures resulted in an overall improvement in communication whenever a 'Total Quality' approach was adopted. For example, Yoshino (1968) has shown that successful Quality Control Circles programmes in Japan depended on each of the participants in any communication transaction being treated as the 'customer', irrespective of their status, (ie. with needs that should be satisfied as far as possible in this context, just as much as those of any guest in the hotel) with the resulting benefit of a lasting improvement in the 'total quality' of the organisation. Recommendations were accepted that a 'pilot trial' would be carried out in the Coastal hotel which would be organised by the local Personnel Department. A basic assumption would be to recognise the existence of an organic community in the hotel, which would largely be influenced by the dominant coalition that controlled the Emergent networks. It was also agreed to involve them in the proposed Quality Control programme with two objectives in mind. Firstly, to make use of these 'opinion leaders' as a means of disseminating information about procedures throughout the hotel. Secondly, to recognise that these 'opinion leaders' would also act as 'gate-keepers', by pointing this out to them during the briefing-sessions, and by attempting to convince them of the likely overall benefits to the hotel which should arise if they, as managers and supervisors, simply treated other members of staff with the unfailing courtesy and concern that they showed to hotel guests at all times. A decision to implement this recommendation was postponed in 1987 after the Coastal Hotel Personnel Manager left the company to take up another appointment.

NOTE

1. Wallace Stevens, An Ordinary Evening in New Haven, IX, (1950).